



HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty Faculty of Social Sciences		Laitos – Institution – Department Master's program of Social Sciences (Sosiaalitieteiden Maisteriohjelm)	
Tekijä – Författare – Author Aino Jauhiainen			
Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title Searching for desistance: A process evaluation of Aggredi, a street violence-focused intervention program			
Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject Criminology			
Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level Master's Degree	Aika – Datum – Month and year October, 2019	Sivumäärä – Sidoantal – Number of pages 75 + 23	
<p>Abstract</p> <p>Counteracting issues of street violence in Finland, the Aggredi program in Helsinki aims to help offenders of street violence manage their violent behaviour. Basing their methods on a social constructionist framework, Aggredi aims to help their clients reduce their violence and life issues. This master's thesis serves as a process evaluation to the Aggredi program. As a process evaluation, this study outlines Aggredi's aims and means to assess whether or not the program works as intended. Connecting the study to a framework of criminological theory, the study explores the programs role in the clients detachment from a life of crime, or desistance.</p> <p>Data was gathered by analysing the programs official information and through qualitative semi-structured interviews of program workers and clients. Six individual interviews were conducted on program clients who had recently entered the program. A group interview was conducted for the programs five workers. The interviews were analysed using the qualitative method of thematic analysis and a fact-based perspective.</p> <p>Results show that in practice, Aggredi works to reduce their clients life and violence issues in two ways. Firstly, by attaching them to the program, and secondly, by transferring that attachment to society. Aggredi's methods of attachment emerge through the programs individualized treatment approach. The results suggest Aggredi's therapeutic client-worker bond seems to enhance program attachment and motivation. Through working methods of reflective dialog and practical aid, Aggredi's workers take the roles of pro-social peer mentors. Clients describe their workers exchanging personal opinions, and supporting them in their anger management and issues of daily life. Aggredi's personalized approach emerges as a possibility for relearning practical skills and social interaction. From a perspective of desistance, the clients explain that Aggredi keeps them motivated to detach themselves from violent crime, but a desire to change is necessary to begin treatment. The program thus emerges as a supporter of clients pre-established maintenance process.</p> <p>Overall, Aggredi's non-structured approach works in accordance to the programs aims. However, results raise concerns regarding attachment of unmotivated clients and the programs non-structured approach. Development suggestions are proposed regarding Aggredi's client direction, structure, as well as their treatment methods.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Process evaluation, Evaluation Research, Criminology, Desistance, Translational Criminology, Violent offender programs, Violent crime			

Searching for desistance: A process evaluation of Aggredi, a street violence-focused intervention program

Aino Jauhiainen
Faculty of Social Sciences
Criminology
University of Helsinki
Master's thesis
10 - 2019

Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical background	3
2.1 Evaluation research within criminal policy	3
2.2 Evaluation research methods: Process and impact evaluations	4
2.3 Criminological evaluation research: A focus on criminal trajectories and desistance	6
3. Previous research	9
3.1 Systematic overview & results	9
3.2 Previous research on Aggredi	13
4. Research questions	14
5. Data and methods	15
5.1.2 Interviewee and client data	18
5.2.2 Interview themes	21
5.2.2 Data analysis method	22
5.3.2 Interrater reliability results	25
6. Results	25
6.1 Aggredi's official information	26
6.1.1 Aggredi's history	26
6.1.2 Aggredi's ideal aim and working methods	26
6.1.4 Aggredi's use of Social constructionism	30
6.2 Aggredi in practice based on interviews with workers and clients	31
6.2.1 Discussing motives for change: clients' criminal careers and turning points	31
6.2.2 Analysis	34
6.2.3 Practicalities and focus group - Workers	36
6.2.4 Practicalities and focus group - Clients	37
6.2.5 Analysis	39
6.3.1 Attachment and program motivation - Workers	40
6.3.2 Attachment and program motivation - Clients	41
6.3.3 Analysis	43
6.4.1 Aggredi's working method – Workers	45
6.4.2 Aggredi's working methods in practice - Clients	51
6.4.3 Analysis	54
7. Conclusions	60
7.1 Main results	61
7.2 Aggredi from a perspective of desistance	64
7.3 Program implications and policy recommendations	65
7.4 Research Limitations	66
7.5 Future research recommendations	67
8. References	69
Appendix	76
Appendix 1: structured form for client information	76

Appendix 2: Interview questions for clients	76
Appendix 3: Interview questions for program workers	79
Appendix 4: Letter of consent	82
Appendix 5: Consent form.....	85
Appendix 6: Safety protocol.....	85
Appendix 7: Rating of life and violence issues for life course forms	87
Appendix 8: Aggreedis introduction phase evaluation form.....	88
Appendix 9: Aggreedis follow-up evaliation form	90
Appendix 10: Translations of interviewee citations (Finnish to English)	92

1. Introduction

Violent crimes have experienced a general decline in Finland over the past decade. While the crime rate of assault and homicide reported to the police has declined, the reported rate of homicide attempts has increased during recent years (Lehti, Suonpää & Kivivuori, 2018, p. 18; Näsi, Danielsson, Aaltonen & Lehti, 2018, p. 56). Crimes of homicide reported to the police mostly consists of male-on-male violence within groups that experience social exclusion and alcohol abuse, while crimes of assault commonly occurs among youth (Lehti et al, 2018, p. 50; Näsi et al, 2018, p. 81, 73). Regarding both groups, the relationship between violence and social marginalization remains an ongoing and concerning issue.

Attempting to decrease violent crime and strengthen its risk group's connection to society, a street violence-focused intervention program *Aggredi* was launched in 2006 (Kekki & Salakka, 2012). Run by the non-governmental organization Helsinki Mission, *Aggredi* works to reduce street violence. The program offers offenders of violent crime individual-based reflective discussions between the workers and the client. The program workers work in pairs, with two workers for each client during sessions. Basing its program methods on the theory of *social constructionism* by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1967), the goal of the program is to help its clients reevaluate their violent self-images and challenge violence-based conceptions of their identity. An impact evaluation of *Aggredi* published in 2014 showed a low completion rate among the clients in the study, but a lowered crime rate for program compliers (Aaltonen & Hinkkanen, 2014). While the decreased crime rate showed promise for the program, the results raised questions regarding the programs structure and methods. How does *Aggredi* operate to reduce violent crime? In what ways does it reconnect their clients to society?

The primary aim of my master's thesis was to asses *Aggredi*'s working methods through conducting an evaluation of the programs practice, or a *process evaluation*. This process evaluation strived to dissect the implementation process of the program. In this study, I examined information from the programs official handbook (Kekki &

Salakka, 2012) as well as the program clients and workers¹. For the clients and program workers, the study utilized semi-structured qualitative interviews as a method of inquiry.

Connecting the study to a framework of criminological theory, the secondary aim for my study is to assess the clients' paths to detachment from crime, or *desistance* (Sampson & Laub, 1993). To assess the ways in which the program works to reduce crime and social marginalization, this study examines the ways in which clients may express desire to desist from violent offending. From a perspective of desistance, this study places interest on the clients experienced moments of change, or *turning points*, as well as their timing and history in relation to the program (Sampson & Laub, 1999).

This process evaluation aimed to contribute to both the fields of criminological evaluation research and criminal policy for three reasons.

Firstly, while an impact evaluation can provide information on the evaluated interventions causal effects, it may not inform us about the underlying mechanisms behind the intervention (Sampson, Winship & Knight., 2013, p. 610–611). Researching the implementation process from paper to practice tells us in what ways the program is operationalized and how it's experienced by the clients. It can also provide information on inadvertent consequences that may be harmful to the clients (Rhine, Mawhorr & Parks, 2006).

Secondly, the process evaluation strived to serve as a useful tool for the further development of Aggredi. Criminal policy plays an important role in decreasing crime through intervention programs and changes in policymaking. To successfully develop interventions that prevent crime, the methods of intervention need to be continuously evaluated (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 344).

Thirdly and finally, this study aimed to highlight the relationship between criminology and criminal policy. Within criminology, the significance of evidence-based policies

¹ I want to thank both clients and program workers behind Helsinki Mission's Aggredi program. This evaluation would not have been possible to execute without the cooperation and open communication provided by the program participators and workers. For taking your time to be part in this study, I am very grateful.

have recently become an important topic (Kivivuori, Aaltonen, Näsi, Suonpää & Danielsson, 2018, p. 369). For the utilization of research results within criminal policy, criminologists underline the need of cooperation between researchers and policy-makers. The translation of knowledge from one field to another, or *translational criminology* (Laub & Frisch, 2016), is pivotal for this process. This process evaluation thus contributes to further cooperation between researchers and policy-makers, and aims to be applicable within both fields.

2. Theoretical background

In this chapter, recent topics of interest within criminological evaluation research in accordance to the purposes of this study are assessed. Firstly, the role of evaluation research within criminal policy is discussed. Secondly, I elaborate on the importance of process and impact evaluations within criminological research.

2.1 Evaluation research within criminal policy

Evaluation research is a recognized tool of measurement in policy-making (Rutman, 1977 p. 15). It functions as a scientific method by which public policies, interventions and prevention programs are evaluated on their aims, methods and credibility. As such, evaluation research plays an important part in both development of criminal policy and academic research. Criminal policies strive to create efficient methods of crime control. Crime political strategies emphasize crime prevention, the reduction of harm caused by crime, as well as the distribution of costs and benefits of these strategies. Criminal policy can thus be viewed as the practice by which the public administration attentively responds to crime (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 312).

Criminal policies can develop based on the *demands* regarding crime control and prevention. Demands can be raised by both governmental and non-governmental organizations, political parties and associations (Easton, 1965, p. 37–41). During assessment of new crime policies, strategies are tested with the help of consultants such as criminological researchers, who determine the strategies credibility through evaluation research. In this process, researchers play an important role in shaping, changing or rejecting criminal policy. Despite contributing to criminal policy-making, maintaining objectivity as an evaluator is important. Criminologists are consulted to

objectively and independently evaluate policy programs, not to support or object them (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 339–340).

In addition to maintaining objectivity, the relation between policy-makers and researchers must be transparent to sustain the quality of both evaluations and policy development. Maintaining communication is vital, as evaluation research may not lead to policy changes; a report conducted by the National Research Council (NRC) of the United States (2012, p. 50–52) argued that a gap has remained between the fields of research and policy, viewing the current evaluation research underutilized in practice. Reflecting on the report results, John Laub and Nicole Frisch (2016, p. 52) have discussed the interplay between criminal policy and evaluation research through Laub's concept of *translational criminology*. Centering on the transference of knowledge between the researchers and policymakers, this concept aims to help develop the translation of evidence-based research into practice. A key to the translation of criminological evaluation research according to Laub and Frisch (2016, p. 54–55) is gaining a better understanding of the programs working mechanisms and their practical implementation. For research to be converted to practice, a trustful and cooperative relation between researchers and policy-makers must also be maintained.

To successfully measure the implemented criminal policies, the program needs to have clearly specified aims and structures from which these aims are accomplished. Next, I present the methods used within evaluation research.

2.2 Evaluation research methods: Process and impact evaluations

Evaluation research can be divided into two sub-categories; *formative* evaluation focuses on the program implementation, while *summative* evaluation studies the programs effects (Herman, Morris & Fitts-Gibbon, 1987 p. 26). In criminological research, the most commonly used formative method is *process evaluation*, while summative methods include *impact evaluations*.

Process evaluations

Process evaluations focus on the outlines and implementations of intervention programs. As a formal method, a process evaluation examines whether the program

functions as proposed (Rutman, 1977, p. 62). For a process evaluator, weighing the programs to their goals means studying the mechanisms and structures through which the program operates. When comparing the programs aims and means, it is necessary to investigate what practices align with the program aims, as well as how workers deal with missteps. Equally important is the program participants point of view. They provide knowledge of how the program is carried out to its intended audience. Common qualitative methods of investigating the process of a program includes direct or indirect observation of the program execution, interviewing program executioners and users, as well as qualitative analysis of conducted reports, logs or other registered information on the program (Rutman, 1977, p. 63.). Once enough information is gathered, the practical version of the program can be compared with the envisioned, theoretical version. Discrepancies with the implementation in relation to its intents are emphasized so possible ideas for development can be motioned by the program executives.

Impact evaluations

Process evaluations investigate the methods through which a program operates. As such, they serve as an asset to impact evaluations, which focus on the causal relation between the intervention and its target. Impact evaluations use quantitative methods to tease out the factual effects of the intervention (Rutman, 1977, p. 104). These methods range from correlative analysis to quasi-experimental and experimental methods. The most reliable results are produced in a randomized experimental design, allowing measured units to be placed in both test- and control groups at random. Within criminological evaluation research, the evidence status of the impact evaluation is usually determined with the *Maryland scale* (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 347–348). The scaling consists of 1-5 divisions, where the highest number indicates the most credible status of evidence. Results of impact evaluations are necessary in order for the evaluator to determine whether a program should be recommended, enlarged or continued (Herman et al, 1987).

The current field of offender treatment evaluation places a strong focus on quantitative impact evaluations (NRC, 2005; Farrington, 2006). This focus is understandable, as it provides answers to the question of “what works?” in the field of both evaluation research and criminal policy to maintain the usefulness of offender rehabilitation

(Cullen, 2013, p. 359). Yet, as Criminologist Shadd Maruna (2001) has pointed out, knowing what works may not tell us what factors specifically made it work, and how. A lack of process evaluations within the research evaluation field may thus risk a production of treatment interventions with a less critical examination of its structure (Rutman, 1997, p. 17; Sampson et al, 2013). This may risk violations of the integrity of its users (Rhine et al, 2006, p. 352–353). As such, this study is a necessary addition to the field of offender treatment evaluation, highlighting the process as a vital part for understanding the outcome.

While examining the working methods of Aggredi, it is important to evaluate the program, equally vital is outlining the paths that have lead the clients to attend it. What are the circumstances under which violent offenders seek rehabilitation? To understand the possibilities of seeking and receiving aid from offender treatment programs, the journey in and out of a life of crime must be understood. Next, I discuss the process of initiating change through the concept of *desistance*.

2.3 Criminological evaluation research: A focus on criminal trajectories and desistance

Durring recent years, criminological evaluation research has raised an increasing interest in examining the temporality of criminal behavior. The concept of *life courses* has influenced both theories and intervention measures regarding crime. Theorized by Glen H. Elder (1998, p. 10–15), the life course theory suggests that our directions, or *pathways* taken in life are influenced by both time and place, our own self-determination, or *agency*, and our social relations. The pathways create continuous patterns of behavior that reflect and enact our temporal perception of social systems. Elder describes the intertwined pathways that uphold directions in life as *trajectories* (Elder, Johnson & Crosnoe, 2003, p. 8). Between these trajectories, events that bind them together are distinguished as *transitions*. For example, settling into our first home can mark a transition from youth to adulthood, while starting a new job can shape our transition into a work career trajectory. The moments that initiate these transitions in our life course trajectories are called *turning points* (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Events that positively or negatively reshape our life paths, such as finding new accommodation or being hired to work are examples of common turning points.

Within criminology, the transitions into crime-ridden life trajectories are studied through the concepts of *criminal trajectories* or *criminal careers* (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth & Visher 1986). The detachment from criminal trajectories is assessed through the concept of *desistance* (Sampson and Laub, 1993). The definition of desistance varies within criminological research. When relating desistance to criminal careers, it is viewed as a stationary process. Beginning with a transition into crime, or a *criminal onset*, the career is upheld until a turning point initiates the desistance and the end, or *termination* of a criminal career. An ended criminal career may be reinitiated at a later point, though the crime rate is expected to drop directly following desistance from crime (Kurlychek, Bushway & Brame, 2012, p. 72–73). Based on this interpretation, desistance is measured through the rates of reinitiated criminal activity, or *recidivism* (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 204).

While this view acknowledges desistance as a complete detachment from crime, other definitions have described desistance as a more gradual procedure. For example, Maruna (2001, p. 26) has defined the transition from a criminal trajectory towards desistance as a *maintenance process* that demands time, effort and commitment. Additionally, the complexity of desistance has raised the question of what it means to maintain a crime-free trajectory. While ceasing to commit crime marks the termination of a criminal career, recidivism rates may not indicate a successful reintegration to society. Maruna and Farrall (2004) recognize the concepts of *primary* and *secondary desistance* as different phases of undoing deviance. Primary desistance involves cessation of offending, while secondary desistance marks the development of a new self-conception unrelated to crime. Highlighting successful social reintegration as a necessity to desistance, McNeil (2016) has introduced an additional term to the concept of primary and secondary desistance, that of *tertiary desistance*. To secure tertiary desistance, the ex-offender's new identity has to be recognized by the social systems to which they aim to reintegrate.

From this perspective, desistance requires the emergence of individual self-determination. From a subjective perspective, initiating desistance has thus been viewed as a matter of personal choice (Clarke & Cormish, 1985; Maruna, 2001). A personal transformation in identity acts as the initiator for change, after which opportunities for

desistance, or *hooks for change* such as school or parenthood become possible to reach out to (Giodarno, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002, p. 992; Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 206). Within desistance research however, criminologists have applied both individual and structural factors to explain the provenience of turning points. Regarding the structural perspective, Sampson and Laub (1993) note that desistance is actualized through the individuals bond to society. They argue that bonds formed through both formal and informal social systems such work and personal relations help us maintain aims and means that align with societal conventions. When the social bonds maintain our attachment to society, they serve as a form of *social control* of criminal behavior. While desistance through individual change is seen to precede rather than follow the forming of social bonds the structural perspective proposes an opposite take; that the forming of social bonds initiates desistance (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 206).

Definition of desistance in this study

The concept of turning points is an insightful tool from which the process of desistance can be examined. However, determining the context of turning points is challenging (Abbot, 2001; Kivivuori et al, 2018). While personal agency is inevitable for the process of desistance, it is difficult to determine whether it has been pre-influenced by external factors or social bonds. Since desistance as a concept is derived from life course theories that emphasize subjective and structural factors, it can be argued that an understanding of desistance is incomplete without both perspectives. Ex-offenders depend on social support when reintegrating to society, yet reintegration cannot take place without the personal resignation of criminal trajectories. In other words, resisting crime is as much a personal process as it is a social process (Giodarno et al , 2002; Maruna and Farrall, 2004). As such, the concept of desistance in this study considered both perspectives, viewing the initiation of desistance possible by both self-determination and social bonds. Embracing an individual and structural view of desistance, this study aimed to address ways in which clients express desire to desist from violent offending and how they are accounted for in Aggredi. Implementing both primary, secondary and tertiary desistance, this study aimed to describe the ways in which the program influenced the client's maintenance process.

3. Previous research

In this chapter, I present a systematic review of previous studies regarding violent offender programs. I then discuss the previous impact evaluation executed on the Aggredi program.

3.1 Systematic overview & results

The systematic review conducted for this study had two aims. Firstly, the review aimed to provide an outline of previous evaluation research on violent offender treatment programs. The second aim was to investigate the types of programs evaluated, and whether these programs working methods bore resemblance to Aggredi.

Aggredi uses two workers for each individual client session. As an intervention model, their method classifies as neither single-person therapy, nor group-based anger management. As such, finding previous research on similar programs proved challenging. While group-based and individualized violent offender programs do not fully align with Aggredi's working method, they can provide useful information regarding client's perceptions of offender treatment. The study may also offer developmental suggestions resembling Aggredi's methods. Thus, studies regarding both types were included in the systematic search. Both quantitative and qualitative studies of violent offender programs were included.

The review was limited to the search engine google scholar. Studies included in the review were limited to peer-reviewed articles, doctoral dissertations and evaluations conducted by crime prevention organizations. Studies were limited to publications written in English. Studies regarding programs that specialized on juveniles or sexual offenders were not included. The search was limited to cover publications from the years 1990-2018. Searches included variations of the phrase "violent offender program evaluation" and "anger management program evaluation". In these phrases, searches aimed to include the terms "process evaluation" and "qualitative". If no results emerged using the phrases, it was changed to only include the term "evaluation". Of twelve searches, five gave results relevant to this study. These results are presented in table 1 below.

Data table 1 : Systematic searches on evaluations of violent offender programs					
Searches (engine: google Scholar)	Phrase used	Search Results	Qualitative studies (1)	Quantitative studies (14)	Mixed methods studies (3)
1	(everywhere in article): qualitative program evaluation "anger management" "violent crime" -sexual -sex - domestic -intimate - partner-school -kids - parents	15	-	-	Black, G., Forrester, A., Wilks, M., Riaz, M., Maguire, H., & Carlin, P. (2011)
2	allintitle: violent offender program program OR management OR program OR offender OR evaluation -school - children -"domestic abuse" -parenting	49		Veeh, C. A., Severson, M. E., & Lee, J. (2017)	-
				Serin, R. C., Gobeil, R., & Preston, D. L. (2009)	-
3	allintitle: offenders anger management program OR management OR program OR offender OR evaluation -school - children -"domestic abuse" -parenting - alcohol	56	Feldman (2016)	Dowden, C., & Serin, R. (2001) Ireland, J. L. (2004) Howells et al, (2005) Walters, G. D. (2009) Goldstein et al, (2007) Escamilla, A. (1998) Trimble et al (2015) Henwood et al (2018) Sanderlin (2016) Watt, B. D., & Howells, K. (1999) Valliant, P. M., Jensen, B., & Raven-Brook, L. (1995)	-
4	allintitle: anger management program study	4	-	-	Swope, C. K. (2016)
5	(Everywhere in article) anger management program violent offender evaluation "program evaluation" - sex -sexual -child - parent -school	93	-	Eamon, K. C., Munchua, M. M., & Reddon, J. R. (2001)	Silva, F., & Hartney, C. (2012)

Five searches conducted on violent offender and anger management programs found 18 evaluative studies relating to anger management, published between the years 1995 and 2018. Out of all studies included in the review, 14 consisted of quantitative evaluations, while mixed methods had been applied in three studies. Only one evaluation had used qualitative methods as their primary research method.

Regarding the programs evaluated, 15 studies evaluated Anger Management programs, two studies focused on re-entry programs and one evaluated a general offender treatment program. The programs mostly applied anger management methods based on Cognitive Behavioral Therapy. The clients of the programs commonly attended weekly, structured group sessions over a 10-12 week period.

The type of treatment framework used in these programs were mostly group-based, and not within the focus of this study. Nevertheless, three points of interests that may prove useful to this study were found.

The first point of interest regards violent offenders' personal motivation in relation to treatment. Two quantitative studies on violent offender programs with CBT-based group sessions offered insight on clients' motivation to change and its influence on program participation. One intervention evaluation found that clients who displayed little or no motivation during the program showed less improvements on anger measures used in the study (Howells, Day, Williamson, Bubner, Jauncey, Parker & Heseltine, 2005). In contrast, clients who expressed a readiness to change exhibited higher progress during the program.

A study of Trimble, Shevlin, Egan, O'hare, Rogers & Hannigan (2015) had similar conclusions. The study assessed treatment readiness by using two measuring scales, one for expression of anger, and another for measuring the client's readiness to change. The study found that clients who recognized their issues with anger and showed motivation to improve themselves showed stronger reductions in anger scores. They also showed most gains from participating in the program (Trimble et al, 2015, p. 131–132). Trimble et al (2015, p. 132) further argued that program practitioners ought to take measures to maintain and enhance the participants readiness to change. These studies suggest that personal motivation towards self-improvement enhances the likelihood of a successful cliency. Reflecting on these results, this study highlighted Aggredi's methods of attaching and motivating their clients.

The second point of interest emerged from a quantitative study on a program with an individual-based treatment structure. Henwood's, Browne's, & Chou's (2018) study focused on an intervention that consisted of one-to-one CBT- and mindfulness

practices. Contrary to other programs found in the systematic review, this intervention utilized a less strict approach on its structure. While based on an established structure and requiring trained psychologists for the program, the application of their work method was open for interpretation according to the client's pace and needs (Henwood et al, 2018, p. 788). The study results showed significant reductions in psychometric scores of symptoms of anger. The researchers noted that the individualized and more flexible treatment focus may have fostered their readiness to change. They propose that the individual approach may have created a relaxed, or *therapeutic* bond between workers and clients, which could have enhanced the quality of the program (Henwood et al, 2018, p. 800–801). Based on this study, a more individualized form of treatment seems to have potential to create a stronger therapeutic bond with the client, which may secure attachment to the program. When assessing Aggredi, the individualized approach was analyzed with these results in mind.

Thirdly and lastly, results of a qualitative doctoral dissertation by Feldman (2016) provided compelling insights on mandatory offender treatment. The study conducted 26 semi-structured interviews with participants of an involuntary anger management program. Overall, Feldman (2016, p. 30) found that participants viewed the coerciveness of the program negatively despite displaying a motivation for self-improvement. The clients further stressed the treatment did little to assist their reintegration from prison to society, leaving them vulnerable upon reentry due to a lack of non-institutional support. Feldman (2016, p. 8, 102–103) concluded that the program ought to assess the structural challenges of the reintegration process by providing employment or housing skills in addition to anger management.

When dissecting the working methods of Aggredi, the role of voluntarism and placing individual focus on the clients' needs are important topics. Voluntary participation in interventions during imprisonment can be seen as a sign of readiness to change, and completing programs may predict a reduction of future criminal activities (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 209). As such, this study aimed to address the ways in which the clients' voluntarism and individual needs were attended to through their program structure. Next, I discuss the previous impact evaluation conducted on Aggredi.

3.2 Previous research on Aggredi

An impact evaluation conducted by Aaltonen and Hinkkanen and published 2014. The aim of the evaluation was to investigate whether the program had impacted the participants criminal behavior. Three client groups were selected for this study. The first group contained clients for whom the program was initially offered (N=141), the second group contained participants who started the program (N=97), and the third group consisted of the clients who completed the program, or compliers (N= 24). The first group was selected for an *intention to treat analysis* (ITT). The aim of a ITT-analysis is to investigate treatment effect on all people who are offered the treatment instead of only analyzing the clients who complete the treatment (Aaltonen & Hinkkanen, 2014). However, since a third of the clients (N=44) who were offered the program ended up not participating, it posed a risk of weakening the comparative analysis. Thus, for the two remaining groups, an *efficacy analysis* was also executed. Recidivism was evaluated only in the second group, while all three groups were compared with control groups.

Regarding recidivism, the results showed a difference between the participant and complier group. The complier group showed a clear reduction in recidivism compared to clients that interrupted the program. Aaltonen and Hinkkanen found that the amount of discussion sessions was connected to recidivism; clients who had attended more than ten sessions had a lower recidivism rate compared to clients having attended fewer sessions. This connection was not statistically significant, however, and may have been influenced by an overall higher motivation among the compliers (Aaltonen & Hinkkanen, 2014, p. 7) The comparative analysis between all three groups to the matched control group showed a lower recidivism rate for the complier group, but results were not statistically significant. Regarding the matched control group, the study found no statistically significant evidence that the program had reduced violent crime.

Overall, the estimate for Aggredi's effectiveness was weakened by the low completion rate. The matching methods used for finding a control group similar to the treatment group was also slightly uncertain, and could not provide credible results of the differences in crime receptivity between the participants who interrupted the program and their matched counterparts. As the complier group's results were positive, the study

recommended the program to be further developed. The study also concluded that for better results, further information on both test- and control groups, as well as more details regarding client direction were needed. The concerns highlighted in the impact evaluation raised important focus points for the qualitative inquiries of this study. Firstly, this study sought to provide more details on the clients expressed motivation. A point of interest was AggreDi's clients and workers views on program motivation and whether clients expressed a readiness to change prior to or following AggreDi. Secondly, this study sought answers to the high amount of program drop-outs in the impact evaluation. Finally, this study focused on dissecting the programs working structure to assess its applicability for impact evaluation.

4. Research questions

In this process review, the research questions reflected both the desistance-based criminological framework and insights provided by previous research. The questions were formed to provide information on AggreDi's ideal aims and working mechanisms through which these aims were assessed. Based on the previous research, this study sought information on the individualized nature of AggreDi's working methods and the ways in which the program sought to attach their clients. Emphasis was put on assessing the clients expressed readiness to change and client motivation. Finally, the programs influence on the clients processes of desistance was assessed based on the studies criminological framework. The main research questions for this study are presented below;

- What are the ideal aims and methods of AggreDi?
- Does AggreDi's practical implementation of their treatment methods work in accordance to their aims?
- What role does AggreDi have in regards to the clients desistance process?

5. Data and methods

For this study, both official and oral information regarding the programs practices and experiences were studied. The oral information was gathered using semi-structured interviews. This chapter introduces the data, ethical considerations, client data, as well as the methods for data gathering and analysis. This chapter also assesses the validity and reliability of this research.

Official Information

The official information consisted of collected material from their website and their published handbook *Aggredi – Violence is not an issue for me (Aggredi- Väkiivalta ei ole mulle mikään ongelma)* (Kekki & Salakka, 2013), as well as Aggredi's own statistics on program participators. Aggredi's statistics contains information from the years 2013-2018.

Oral information and Focus group

The focus group for this study was chosen based on their knowledge and experience of Aggredi, and thus consisted of program workers and clients. For the oral information, two groups were selected; One group with all current workers of the program (N=5) and one group of participators (N=6). The interviews took place at Aggredi's workspace. The workers selected the client participators based on the following criterias; firstly, clients who had attended Aggredi 2-3 times and voluntarily agreed to participate in the study were selected. Secondly, the workers chose clients based on their ability to openly participate in discussions. Thirdly, only clients with permission to leave their prison for the interview were selected. Out of 8 new clients entering or attending Aggredi during the client selection, 6 agreed to participate in the study, while two did not meet the selection criteria's.

The program workers were interviewed in a group interview, while the clients were interviewed individually. A parallel process evaluation conducted by Chris Carling (2019) focused on clients that had attended more than 10 meetings. Carling also used the workers interview data. As the data and focus group were partly shared, all data was gathered collectively by both me and Carling. Since this study focused on a sensitive

target group, it was likely that the research material received through interviews would reach a point of fulfillment, or *saturation*, quite fast (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 102). As such, the number of interviews was limited in accordance to the estimated saturation point, which is six interviews. A structured form for the interviewer was used during the interview to collect categorical data such as age, background and criminal background of the program clients.

In addition to the interviewers structured forms, each client was given two forms to outline their life course; one to outline their life situation and another to outline their violent behavior. Both their life situation and violent behavior were rated on a scale of 0-10, where 0 referred to not having any issues with either the life situation or violent behavior and 10 referred to having serious issues with them. The rating was submitted for the following six categories; childhood, youth, adulthood, verdict prior to program entry, as well as both the current and future verdict.

Limitations

While the clients were included due to their expertise on attending Aggredi, a notable problem by not including ex-clients was the limits to knowledge on reasons for program drop out. It can be argued that clients who have dropped out or decided against entering the program represent the best source as for why clients discontinue Aggredi. While locating former participants through the criminal sanction's agency might have been possible, this brought two concerns. Firstly, finding enough former clients willing to participate within the study's provided schedule and resources was unlikely. Secondly, retrieving detailed information on the programs working methods may have been difficult if too much time has passed since the discontinuation. The focus group was thus restricted to cover current participants.

5.1.1 Data collection and handling

The interviews were conducted between May and November of 2018. They were audio recorded and transcribed during September and October of 2018. During the gathering of interviews and transcriptions, the audio data was preserved and handled using secured USB flash drives. Before their audio data was transcribed, the program clients'

names were changed using the online randomized name generator *Elonen*². After analysis, the client's names were changed into numbers before being included in the final study report. The interview data was transcribed using the audio editor software *Audacity*. For the transcription style, a mix between a more *formal* and *verbatim* standard was used; the conversations were initially transcribed capturing their original verbalization, including interjections, stutters, informal language and emotive sounds such as laughter and sighing. The transcription format registered pauses over 2.5 seconds, loud speaking, interrupting, indistinguishable noises, and emotive sounds. After the transcriptions were complete, the data was modified for the qualitative coding program *Atlas.ti*. After analysis was complete, the data files were anonymized. Citations used in the study were translated into English from Finnish and reworked to exclude any unnecessary support words. Once the interviews were transcribed, the audio files were deleted. After completing the analysis, the transcripts were anonymized in accordance with the letters of consent and data guidelines of the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (FSD, 2018).

Once the life-course forms were collected, they were converted into line charts using the spreadsheet program *Microsoft Excel* (see table 3a and 3b).

5.1.1 Ethical considerations

Ensuring the safety of the clients in this study was a requirement for the execution of the evaluation. It is both important and desirable to assess ethical considerations in regards to this evaluation. Pivotal in this study was ensuring the safety and integrity of all parties involved (Watts, 2008). To ensure the clients and evaluators safety during the interviews, a safety protocol was developed in cooperation with the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy. The safety protocol required that two evaluators would be responsible for and needed to be present during all interviews. In addition, a worker from Aggredi needed to be present near the room where the interview is taking place. In case the evaluators suspected that the interview session was causing visible distress among any of the parties present, the evaluator would interrupt the interview. In case any signs point to the situation becoming unsafe or dangerous towards any of the parties present, the evaluator would stop the interview. The workers from Aggredi

² <https://elonen.iki.fi/code/misc-notes/finnish-name-generator/>

would also be called in if necessary. The clients in this study received a letter of consent to ensure their anonymity and confidentiality. The letter of consent ensured the client that participation is voluntary and could be interrupted at any time. The client did not have to answer any questions, and had the right to withdraw their participation during the entirety of the research interview, as well as afterwards. The evaluators did not share any information regarding the interviews to the workers of Aggredi, nor to anyone else outside the research. No personal information was shared. The material inquired through the interviews were confidential and anonymized once transcribed. The research did not present the results in any way that might reveal the identities of the parties involved. The letter of consent was presented to the clients before the interview to ensure that the clients consent was informed. The letter needed to be signed by the client in order for the interview to be able to be executed. When signed, the letters of consent were handed to the Institute of Criminology And Legal Policy for safekeeping.

5.1.2 Interviewee and client data

Data table 2: structured information on interviewed clients							
Program Participants (P)	Age	Program duration	Month/Year of interview	Length of Interview	Currently serving sentence	Experience of substance abuse	Employment or Degree place (DP)
P1	40-45	3 months	June, 2018	1 hour	Yes	Yes	Looking for DP
P2	20-25	3 months	September, 2018	1 hour	Yes	Yes	Looking for DP
P3	40-45	4 months	August, 2018	40 minutes	Yes	Yes	DP
P4	20-25	10 months	September, 2018	1 hour	Yes	Yes	Looking for DP
P5	30-35	1 month	October, 2018	1 hour	Yes	Yes	Looking for employment
P6	30-35	1 month	June, 2018	1 hour	Yes	Yes	DP

Data table 2: Structured information on program participants

Data table 3: Aggreidis personal statistics on clients (2018)				
	Current cliencies	Upcoming cliencies	Ended cliencies	Discontinued cliencies
Time (Month, year)	October 2018	Obtober 2018	January 2013- October 2018	2006*- April 2018
N	35	26	256	208
Average cliency lenght	12,2 months *		5,6 moths*	
Average amount of client sessions	18,5 sessions		10, 5 sessions**	
Avergae program entry age	29,5 years	30.76 years *	28,7 years ***	26, 8 years**
attended 10 sessions or more	54 %		42 %	
attended 3 sessions or less	17 %		19 %	
Missing data	*11 missing values	*12 missing values	*1 missing value	*No data on month
			**1 missing value	** 100 missing values
			***7 missing values	

Data table 3: Aggreidis personal statistics on clients (2018).

Since all six program clients who participated in this study were male, no gender section was included in the table. The client age was evenly divided between ages 20-25 to 40-45, with two clients in their 20s, two in their 30s and two in their 40s. One client had a foreign background, whilst the other clients were Finnish. While the clients had attended a minimum of 3 sessions before the interview, program participation ranged between 5 months or more for P1-P3 and 1-2 months for P4-P6. The interviews lasted around 45 to 60 minutes.

All clients were currently serving a prison sentence for a violent offence and had backgrounds of violent offences or violent behavior. Five out of six clients had committed other offences as well. Of the other offenses committed, property crimes and drug-related offences were the most prominent. All clients had experienced difficulties with substance abuse. Two clients had secured a degree place during the time of the interview. Three clients were currently looking for applicable degree places, while one client was looking for employment with a previously secured degree.

Regarding Aggreidi's personal statistics, data of ended cliencies exists only from the year 2013 onwards, and the data contains some missing values. As such, the current data does not allow for a coherent overview of Aggreidi's entire past cliency. The discontinued cliencies consist of cases where clients have stopped attending the program without informing the program workers. Ended cliencies consist of clients who have attended a few times and informed the program of their program discontinuation. clients averagely enter the program around the age of 30. The statistics show an increase of both client attendance and cliency lengths between 2013 and 2018.

5.2.1 Semi-structured interviews as a working method

In this study, information on Aggreidis routines and treatment required both oral, structured insights on official method statements and possible issues with the program. In order to provide a balanced collection of data on the program, the study used *semi-structured interviews* for the evaluation. Combining elements from both open-ended and closed interviews, the semi-structured interview emphasizes the interviewee's lived experience as well as the research's theoretical aspects (Galetta, 2013, p. 25). Open-ended and closed question arrangements allows for the themes of interest to be broken and brought up in segments, while still keeping a somewhat coherent structure. This requires a skilled interviewer, as they must be ready to move the discussion forward to achieve precise and coherent information (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 1982, p. 37).

This method thus provides some limitations. Firstly, conducting interviews requires a considerable amount of time, resources, as well as experienced interviewers. Secondly, participants may be influenced by their own bias towards the study, or the *subject effect* (Feldman, 2016). Thirdly, semi-structured interviews based on small, limited groups cannot provide generalized data regarding other populations (Adams, 2015, p. 493).

However, when studying a client group in a program, one-on-one interviews can provide deeper insight to the internal experiences of the clients compared to a focus group interview or observation (Adams, 2015, p. 494). Since the research was centered around challenging topics, semi-structured interviews therefore allowed for a straightforward and sensitive approach to questions that are difficult to answer (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 1982, p. 36).

To reduce subject effects, the interviews took place at Aggreidi's workplace. This helped the clients create a sense of comfort and familiarity. The participants also shared a 15 minute introduction session with the workers before the interview began. The interview in this study was structured to begin with more open and general questions in order to establish a sense of openness between the interviewer and interviewee. The questions then became more specific, relating to both ideal and actual execution of practices, possible problems and views on the current state and future of the program. Next, I will discuss the segments, or *themes* around which the interview was constructed.

5.2.2 Interview themes

Since it is difficult to anticipate answers to open-ended questions beforehand, semi-structured interviews require the questions to be carefully connected to the research topic (Galletta, 2013, p. 37). In this study, the theoretical aspects referred to the framework of criminological evaluation research. As such, the questions related closely to the processes behind the program. The questions were centered around eight themes; *History, focus group, ideal aims and means, practice, problems, as well as challenges and future prospects*.

In order to conduct a more in-depth comparison of the official and oral information regarding Aggredi, the questions relating to the themes of history, focus groups, as well as ideal aims and means, were based on the method of *oral histories* (Galletta, 2013, p. 28). Providing oral history functions as a retelling of Aggreidis past, verifying and complementing the already established information regarding its beginning, intended treatment groups and prior and current execution of methods. The use of oral history can also introduce new aspects and information regarding the workers view of the program that has not been included in the official documents.

The themes of practice, problems, challenges and future provided data on the programs execution in practice, as well as touch upon its possible issues. These themes concerned both program workers and clients, and were used to assess differences in the program aims and workers experiences of its practice. The themes were focused on Aggredi's goal through the concept of desistance. As such, they consisted of questions regarding the clients' reduction of violent behavior, motives for joining the program, societal integration, as well as their motivation regarding continuing the program.

The topics of challenges and future supplements the prior impact evaluation by Aaltonen & Hinkkanen (2014). These themes aimed to elaborate on possible reasons for the low completion rates found previously. Special attention was put on the participators first impressions of the program, their motivation and how the executives work with unmotivated clients. The theme of challenges was especially important. Questions regarding quitting the program provided the closest source of information on dropouts and needed to be precisely defined to compensate for the limitations of the study's focus group. Both workers and participators were asked to discuss what they viewed as

common reasons for discontinuing the program. The clients were also asked about whether they had thought about quitting the program, or whether they had quit any other rehabilitation program prior to Aggredi.

5.2.2 Data analysis method

The purpose of coding qualitative data is to make the material easily manageable. Creating codes captures similarities and differences in our findings, as well as separates the unnecessary information from the data important to the study. This process review applied a general analysis practice, *qualitative thematic analysis*. Using this method, data was categorized into themes based on the interconnectivity between the research questions and the data itself (Seale, 2004, p. 313–314). Codes were developed based on the study's research questions and theoretical background, as well as from the gathered data. In other words, the final coding schemes developed from both *deductive* and *inductive* coding layouts (Seale, 2004, p. 313). Through the interview themes, the following four primary codes emerged relating to the programs process; *Practicalities*, *attachment*, *principals* and *working methods*. These codes were used to cover experiences of enlisting to and getting acquainted with the program, as well as the programs daily practices and principles. Similarly, the main codes used to analyze desistance was *change*, *turning point* and *desistance*. From all primary codes, secondary codes relating to these categories emerged during data analysis. The codes were arranged in accordance to the primary schemes, with different groups for program workers and clients.

5.3.1 Validity and reliability

While maintaining objectivity is a main principle within research, its practical implementation requires a lot of effort and concrete rather than abstract measures (Peräkylä, 1997, p. 201–202). To ensure transparency, the inquired interviews were conducted through a *facts-based perspective* (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 1982, p. 90). The fact-based perspective entails a grounded and practical conception of the verity that the research is aiming to reach. It makes a clear division between the discussed subject itself, and the narratives expressed regarding it. In other words, the perspective highlights that stated expressions regarding the subject reflect reality, but might not

represent the whole truth. The evaluators duty is to be attentive to all information and let the interviewees be heard. Most importantly, the evaluator is responsible for creating a natural setting to ensure the credibility of the information. For this, both *validity* and *reliability* need to be ensured when collecting and analyzing data.

Validity

Validity refers to how sufficiently the research measurements align with what they are meant to investigate. In qualitative research the specific definition of validity tends to be likened with assessments of quality, trustworthiness, and accuracy, or *rigor* (Patton, 2015, p. 427; Golafshani, 2003, p. 602). One prominent type of validity that emphasizes trustworthiness is *interpersonal validity*, which focuses on sustaining a natural communication between interviewees and interviewers (Patton, 2015, p. 691). In this study, interpersonal validity was ensured by providing clients with a confidential research setting and decreasing reactivity (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 104–106). To ensure confidentiality, the interviewer was constructed to match the tone and setting of Aggredi's own working methods. Having two interviewers for every client reflected Aggredi's methods of discussion. The 15-minute introduction session mentioned earlier functioned to release possible tension and help all parties get comfortable.

Decreasing reactivity requires avoiding direct questions related to the research aims or frameworks. To ensure that the interviewees were not influenced by the researcher's own aims, the questions were constructed indirectly around the methodological framework. The rigor of the interviewers was also assessed, as the interview questions were practiced between the interviewers before their execution. While the interview questions were distributed systematically among the interviewers, all questions were memorized by both interviewers. As such, the researchers were able to simultaneously aid one another with follow-up questions or more precise clarifications on questions that proved challenging. Finally, feedback was issued between both researchers after every interview to uphold the quality of the qualitative inquiry.

Reliability

Reliability refers to the study's repeatability and consistency. Developed codes can have different meanings in different contexts yet need to be used similarly throughout the study (Patton, 2015, p. 658). In other words, the findings in the coded data need to be consistent in relation to both itself and the theories they are built on. The reliability of

this study was enhanced through *triangulation*. Triangulation is an analysis method from which the accuracy and consistency of research data can be assessed (Patton, 2015, p. 660–663). It entails an inspective and critical approach towards the gathered data using various practices. In this study, two methods of triangulation were applied. Firstly, this study applied a *mixed-methods triangulation* approach, albeit on a small scale. By comparing the numerical life-course survey forms filled by the clients with their oral histories based on their interviewee data, two different data collection methods were utilized to assess the clients views on their criminal careers, turning points and states of desistance. In regards to the program structure, data sources compared included official information on the program and oral information obtained from the group interview with the workers. Secondly, to verify the consistency of the codings, *Analyst triangulation* was used. This method consisted of using another evaluators independently conducted coding using the same coding schemes to test their consistency among multiple analysts, or *interrater reliability* (Patton, 2015, p. 665–666). Interrater reliability examines the agreement between two analyst’s independent evaluation of an observation. The interrater reliability was measured by calculating the agreement percentage of the data. The following calculation was used (Gravetter & Forzano, 2018, p. 414);

$$\text{Agreement Percentage} = \frac{\text{Number of codes in agreement}}{\text{Total number of identified codes}} \times 100$$

Due to its simplicity, this method did not account for agreements registered by chance. While the analysts discussed underlying justifications for each registered code to counterbalance chance agreement, the methods simplicity limits the assessment of reliability. The data was analyzed by Carling and I. Since Carling also gathered data from clients of the program, one unanalyzed client interview from each of our client group was selected for triangulation. Both researchers were present during one another’s conducted interviews, which thus limits how independently one could assess the other’s data. To compensate for this limitation, interviews conducted during the middle of the data gathering process were selected for analysis, as they tended to be less memorable for the interviewers. For the interrater reliability test, the following three codes were selected for analysis on both interviews; *desistance*, *turning point* and *relation to authorities*. To test interrater reliability, the agreement percentage was measured separately for each code. The results are presented below.

5.3.2 Interrater reliability results

Data table 4: Interrater reliability test results					
Code names	Identified codings (N)	Corresponding codes (N)	different codes (N)	Missing codes (N)	Agreement percentage (%)
Code 1 (relation to authorities)	14	11	0	3	78,6 %
Code 2 (desistance)	24	18	2	4	75 %
Code 3 (turning point)	9	6	2	1	66,6 %
Codes in total	47	35	4	8	74, 5%

Data table 4: Interrater reliability test results

When comparing our respective findings, corresponding codes, different codes and missing codes were identified. Corresponding codes referred to findings that had been registered using the same codes. Missing codes consisted of codes identified by one analyst but missed by the other. Different codes referred to findings that had been registered but marked as different codes. In total, 47 codes were found from the data. The code “relation to authorities” had the highest agreement percentage (78,6%), followed by “desistance” (75%) and “turning point” (66%). While the first two codes indicate a good interrater reliability, the reliability of the code “turning point” is clearly weaker. Based on the test results, all non-corresponding codes had been marked as either “desistance” or “turning point”. This indicates that these codes risk being interpreted interchangeably, as the code “desistance” can reflect the general concept of desistance, including turning points. As such, only evaluating codes under the concept of desistance, such as “desistance optimism” or “maintenance process”, would have provided a more coherent level of abstraction for the evaluation. However, with a strong agreement on the first two codes and an overall agreement percentage of 74%, the results indicated a good interrater reliability.

6. Results

In this chapter, I present the findings of the process evaluation. I first discuss Aggreedi’s official information. I present Aggreedi’s history, ideal aim and working methods. I then discuss the clients experienced turning points and criminal trajectories prior to entering the program. After that, Aggreedi’s implementation of their treatment methods is presented; I discuss Aggreedi’s practicalities, as well as the programs attachment and working methods based on the workers and client’s interviews.

6.1 Aggredi's official information

6.1.1 Aggredi's history

The Helsinki Missions Aggredi-project begun as a youth gang prevention project called *Timeout* (aikalisä) in 2006, funded by Finland's Slot Machine Association (RAY). Through cooperation between youth service representatives from Helsinki Mission, the police and social workers in Helsinki, the project was funded to reduce youth gang violence. The program worked with violent youth gangs and served to offer tools to dissect and process experiences of violence. The program worked with both offenders regarding serious violent offences and victims or witnesses of family violence. The timeout-project operated from 2006 to 2009, after which its workers sought to develop the programs aims and methods to specialize in individual work with violent offenders. From 2009 onwards, the project changed its name to Aggredi and has since worked with street violence offenders. At its current state, Aggredi is financed by Veikkaus. Aggredi functions in three cities in Finland; in addition to Helsinki, Aggredi expanded its services to Kuopio in 2015, and gained funding to expand its project to Oulu in 2017. Both Kuopio and Oulu have their own representatives and workers for the projects.

6.1.2 Aggredi's ideal aim and working methods

Aggredi strives to reduce street violence and reintegrate violent offenders to society. According to their website, they have the following aim;

The aim of the program is to create a system based on partnership and collaboration that enables a fast and efficient intervention in the lives of young adults that have drifted to problems due to violence. The aim is to break away destructive patterns and to make way for new opportunities and behavioral patterns within the target group (Helsinki Mission, 2018).

Ideally, Aggredi's working strategy strives towards reducing the client's violent behavior. Secondly, they aim to increase the well-being of their clients as well as help them better their life situations. The treatment focuses on helping its clients compare and measure the challenges of their criminal lives to the benefits of their crime-free lives.

Practicalities and focus group

The focus group for Aggredi includes people between ages of 18-49 who have issues with violent behavior or have committed violent crimes. Aggredi includes both violent offenders and non-offenders to their focus group. While Aggredi strives to include a wide customer base, special focus is put on young adults. Additionally, Aggredi emphasizes that violent crime is committed by youth in their twenties with a desistance from crime occurring after the age of 30 for violent offenders. Clients may have experiences of committing assaults, theft and homicide. Aggredi has excluded cases of sexual violence and domestic abuse in the program, arguing that these forms of violence have their own specialized prevention programs. Aggredi also notes that offenders with a history of sexual assault are easily labelled within the violent offender and prison community, concluding that Aggredi might risk losing its customers if the focus group also included sexual offenders (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p.12).

The clients are usually contacted about the project through other sources of authority such as probation services, prisons, the police, the Criminal Sanctions agency, or the Ministry of justice. Clients are not required to be abstinent from violent offending or substance abuse to enter the program (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 6,12–17,21–31).

Attachment

During the first three visits to Aggredi, the programs conditions and the client's life situation is discussed. According to the handbook, the workers aim to attach the clients by making decisions together on which themes or topics need to be discussed. This helps the client evaluate the benefits of the program and find motivation to attend the next meeting. The client is assigned a worker in charge of the cliency while the worker in charge is assigned with a working partner for the client. The workers note that clients may have a lack of trust towards authority officials due to negative experiences with them. To secure their trust, Aggredi emphasizes the maintenance of a neutral position in relation to the client (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 28).

According to the handbook, the clients usually find the motivation to work towards decreasing their violent behavior after a longer period of experiencing the negative consequences of their actions. Motivation for change can be found in not wanting to

remain in prison or becoming part of a family. The handbook notes that the rehabilitation may begin when the client sees the possibilities in a life without violence. The handbook underlines that this motivation to change can be initiated by critical moments, or turning points (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 29).

Aggredi's working methods

The program consists of regularly held individual meetings between the workers and clients. Each client is assigned with two workers. On average, the meetings occur once a week and last for 1-2 hours. The duration of the sessions and participation in the program are based on the client's terms; clients can leave and reenter the program when they choose. The clients' treatment process is monitored by their respective workers, as well as collectively by the working unit (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 21). Aggredi's working methods are based on reflective dialog, according to the handbook. The working methods aim to provide both analytical and solution-focused rehabilitation. Aggredi distinguishes between four types of approach strategies for their client work; *motivating discussions*, *treatment-based discussions*, *crisis management-based discussions* and *organization of daily life* (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 21). The length, planning and contents of the client sessions are based on the clients' needs. Aggredi emphasizes the working model as a form of supportive encounters with the clients, the meetings serving as an opportunity for the client to talk freely about their experiences through both "small talk" and reflective dialog (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 31). The workers role is to listen and provide different perspectives to the narrative presented in the meetings. The goal for the discussions is to allow the client to be heard and achieve a sense of agency. Letting them examine the different roles of themselves that are presented in the dialog can help them find words and reasons for their aggressive behavior. Examining their actions from various perspectives, the working sessions aim to find ways to empower them to create new narratives to their identity. As a work group, Aggredi underlines the different educational backgrounds and personalities of its workers. Aggredi argues that a professional worker identity forged through using Aggredi's work methods and one's own personality as tools during client discussions is crucial for the programs effectivity.

The solution-focused rehabilitation focuses on organizing contacts to other rehabilitative services such as substance abuse- treatment programs, as well as housing

and employment aid services. As they help their clients to prepare for new phases in their lives such as incarceration, parole and life after imprisonment, they take on the approach of mentoring, or *sparring*, to guide the clients through the challenges they encounter when adapting to their new settings (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 32–33).

The aim of the program is to lessen the violent behavior issues of the clients and improve their life situation. The handbook notes that cliencies generally end upon a unified agreement between the client and the worker, or on the clients' decision.

Cliencies that are ended earlier than planned tend to be discontinued due to the clients low motivation or if their deviant behavior poses a risk to their cliency. Sometimes cliencies end sooner than planned due to the clients schedule overlapping with other treatment programs (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 36). The handbook stresses that some clients may return to Aggredi from time to time to update on their life situation. These clients, referred to as *visitors* in the handbook, might revisit Aggredi if they lack social relations in society upon reintegration (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 31).

Measurement of program impact

The handbook mentions four measured criteria that indicate impact on the clients life situation (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, P. 24–25). The first criteria is the client's level of commitment to the program, which is based on treatment duration and the amount of participated sessions. The second criteria regard changes in the client's narratives regarding their violent behavior during their participation. A more developed comprehension regarding the client's own impact in violent situations is expected over time. The third criteria are changes in clients' use of language. Aggredi sees that deterring from using slang or words common to criminal communities is a sign of desistance from criminal identity. The fourth criteria are transformations of words into actions. In other words, working towards the discussed goals in practice, such as treating substance abuse or anger management issues or establishing new healthy social relations.

6.1.4 Aggreidis use of Social constructionism

The intervention program Aggreidi is based on the *theory of social constructionism* by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman. The term social constructionism was coined by Berger and Luckmann in their work *The social construction of reality* (1967). Their theory proposes that concepts such as knowledge and reality exist in relation to our social context. Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 15,36–37) argue that since our conceptions of reality is based on our social surroundings, concepts of reality are constructed as a shared sense of *common knowledge*, produced from our daily routines and interactions. Through social interaction, our subjectively shared reality of everyday life, or *intersubjectivity*, forms a general view on reality. All knowledge, despite its differences in empirical value, represents an equally valuable version of our shared reality. What's of interest is thus the process of how a version of reality is socially constructed, recognized and used as common knowledge.

The concept of identity plays an important role in the production of shared social constructions. Identity, as well as reality, is constructed in a dialectical relation to social and societal structures, impacting and being impacted by social processes. Identity is shaped through the process of *socialization*. Socialization refers to the internalization and understanding of one's surrounding social reality. Understanding social reality through identification with significant others helps us to identify with ourselves. Identity is thus defined as an interplay between the attitudes of one's social surroundings and one's internalization of and adaption to them (Berger & Luckman, 1967, p. 152, 194.).

Aggreidi builds its working methods from this theoretical framework. Based on the Handbook, the intervention program does not view the clients within the wider context of societal norms, but through the clients own presented version of reality. The workers respect the clients own truth and autonomy. The working method emphasizes working in the moment, rather than focusing on the clients backgrounds. As such, they aim to give the client a sense of agency and purpose regardless of their history. In allowing the client to construct their own narratives, the workers aim to help the client recognize the problems in their violent behavior and with time, construct a new identity that is not connected to their violent offenses. (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 21–22.).

6.2 Aggredi in practice based on interviews with workers and clients

In this chapter, I discuss the process behind Aggredi according to both its program workers and clients in comparison to the ideal aim and methods presented above. I first assess the client's life and violent histories, and their experiences prior to entering Aggredi. I also discuss their life- and violence course forms. I then discuss the results of the program by addressing Aggredi's practicalities, as well as their attachment and working methods. Finally, I discuss the structure of the program.

6.2.1 Discussing motives for change: clients' criminal careers and turning points

Based on the client interviews, four out of the six clients interviewed noted they had personally made decisions to change their lifestyles in prison. P3 noted his personal initiator to change came from the experience of losing his freedom upon his first prison sentence. In contrast, P4 referred to a serious violent offense and substance abuse preceding his current offense and incarceration. While P3 experienced a moment of change upon his first time in prison, P4's serious crime and second incarceration subsequently pushed him to seek help. Similar to P4, P1 had also decided to change himself following incarceration. He had reflected on the severity of his crime of manslaughter and sentence before deciding to start seeking help.

While P1 and P4 stated they started reassessing their actions directly following their incarceration, P2 reported to have begun reflecting on his behavior a year into his prison sentence;

P2: I've thought about it and realized it when I was younger, around 14-15 years old, I understood and I've tried to quit many times, but when the conditions in the children's home got less attentive, I joined in if somebody suggested something, then that would stir something up. So I've understood the consequences of the things I shouldn't do, but I didn't care too much. Chris: When did you start caring?

P2: Just now, when I started serving this sentence. And not even right then, but about a year in when I'd been in prison for a while- after that I really understood.

P2 also noted that attending Aggredi played a clear role in motivating him to change, though he added that motivation had also stemmed from himself and his social relations.

While the above-mentioned clients found motivation to change during their imprisonment through personal reflection, P5 noted he had experienced a willingness to change in the prisons voluntary rehab community. He had faced issues with both violence and substance use. After entering the rehab community, he had begun reassessing his violent behavior, which led him to try Aggredi. P5 expressed that the community had played an important role in his recovery. Similarly to P5, the initiator for P6:s change also stemmed from his personal relationships. S noted he had spent his youth and adulthood in and out of jail due to drug- and violence-ridden gang activities;

Aino: What made you move from (town) then?

P6: My wife got pregnant.

Aino: Okay.

P6: And then of course constantly ending up in jail, the drug use, I got sick of it... It wasn't any kind of living, you know. So I just got fed up with it somehow- I mean I did try to break away from it for years, but- I didn't have enough of a backbone to break the cycle.

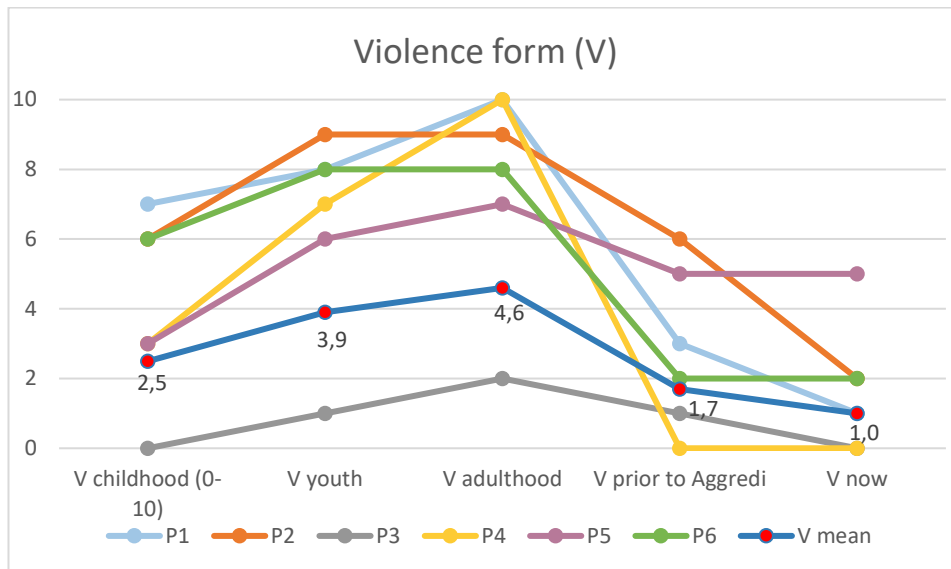
Chris: Was this child a pushing factor towards that change then?

P6: Yeah.

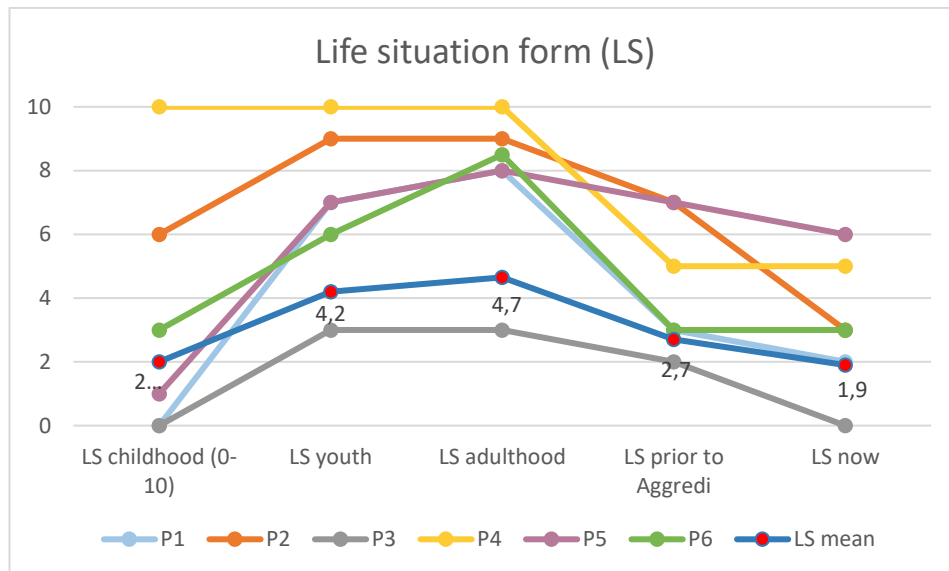
P6 had reportedly struggled with substance abuse for a while after relocating themselves to raise their child, until eventually abstaining from drug use. P6 also stated the importance of personal motivation regarding changing his life.

Clients life & violent life forms

Overall, the clients regarded that a desire to change needed to be present in order to starting the program. All clients had experienced a desire to change their violent behavior or life issues before attending Aggredi, with five of six clients reported that their motivation to change had taken place in prison following their incarceration. Their statements coincided with their life course forms presented in graph 1a and 1b.



Graph 1a



Graph 1b

As seen from Graph 1a, all clients but one reported some degree of violent behavior during childhood. All client's degree of violent behavior reportedly rose throughout their youth, with half of the participants reaching their peak either during their youth (P2, P6, P4) or adulthood (P1, P3-P5). All clients experienced a decline regarding violent behavior before their participation in Aggredi. Regarding their current state after having started the program, all participants predicted a decline of violence or a maintenance of their current decline.

The life course form regarding the client's life situation and issues (Graph 1b) showed a slight difference in the experienced issues during childhood compared to problems with violent behavior. As with table 2a, the biggest changes regarding the client's life situation occur between adulthood and before starting Aggredi. After having started the program, four clients (P1-P3, P5) predicted a continuing decline or maintenance of a total decline in life issues. On average, all clients had experienced a decline in both life and violence issues prior to program entry.

6.2.2 Analysis

According to both the interviews and the life- and violence issues forms, the clients' decisions to change their behaviors preceded attending Aggredi. Clients highlighted personal motivation as a necessity regarding treatment, and most clients expressed motivation towards changing their life situation and attending the program. The clients' reports aligned with the view of readiness to change functioning as a requirement for initiation of and maintenance of a successful treatment (Howells et al, 2005, p. 309). From a perspective of desistance, the data suggests that the clients' turning points and desistance process had been initiated prior to starting the Aggredi program. The clients mentioned turning points resonated with many factors attributed to shifts in criminal trajectories within desistance research; personal change, social bonds, and committing an exceptionally serious crime (manslaughter) (Maruna, 2001; Kazemian, 2007; Liem, Zahnn, & Tichavsky, 2014). Interestingly, imprisonment also seemed to establish a turning point based on the clients narratives.

Four clients' paths towards desistance entailed subjective reflection following incarceration. These findings suggested a subjective initiation of desistance, with social relations acting as hooks for change for some of them. For two clients, social bonds seemed to initiate shifts to new trajectories. These clients were able to reevaluate their identities thanks to interaction with their community or events related to their family, which resonated with structural views of desistance (Sampson & Laub, 1993). However, the clients who experienced turning points based on social bonds also emphasized the importance of personal choice when seeking help. The findings indicate that desistance was initiated by both self-determination and social bonds, with emphasis on self-determination being more apparent.

Overall, the shifts in the clients' criminal trajectories varied: some experienced an immediate desire to change themselves following their turning points, while others shifted trajectories more gradually, coinciding with perceptions of both linear and irregular processes of desistance (Abbott, 2001). The reported experiences of needing time to internalize turning points suggests that initiating desistance following a turning point may in some cases be preceded by a phase of readjustment.

Most importantly, the findings show that most clients experienced subjective turning points upon incarceration. Imprisonment itself seems to have acted as a turning point, obstructing the individuals pre-established life courses. As the clients were both repelled and determined to change by their experience of incarceration, these findings suggest that it served as an element of preclusion, or *deterrence*, which sparked motivation to avoid reconviction (Kaufman, 1973). The constraint of the client's agency following imprisonment seemed to initiate a phase of self-reflection, which may have the potential to foster readiness to change. While imprisonment has been suggested to function as a turning point in a criminal trajectory from a deterrence framework, previous research remains generally mixed towards incarceration functioning as a positive turning point (Bhati & Piquero, 2008; Frisch, 2018). Indeed, even if incarceration functions as a turning point, the trauma from imprisonment and challenges of reintegration may not be met with resilience, but resignation (Feldman, 2016, p. 42). While incarceration alone can have negative consequences and is not a guaranteed turning point towards desistance, the client reports however indicates that (a) the clients experienced both deterrence and motivation to change following incarceration and (b) Aggredi seemed to both function as an outlet for the distress of incarceration. The results propose that Aggredi could function as an element of support for the clients' maintenance process towards desistance.

In the next segment, I discuss Aggredi's working methods in further detail, assessing its practical implementation in contrast to its aims. I will also assess in what ways Aggredi's working methods may influence the client's maintenance process.

6.2.3 Practicalities and focus group - Workers

Regarding Aggredi's cliency, the workers define their focus group in accordance to their official information, excluding sexual offenders and maintaining the age limit to 18-49 for clients. According to the workers, exceptions have been made for underage clients if they have fantasies about violent behaviour that has raised concern, if they have threatened to commit mass shootings or if the client has entered prison and seemingly has no other support system. According to the workers, the youngest client to have attended Aggredi from prison has been 16 years old.

The workers note that most of their recent clients were directed from the criminal sanction's agency. The officials may introduce the program to the prisoners when discussing the implementation of their sentence. Aggredi may thus function as a part of their sentence plan. The workers noted that clients within prisons can also recommend the program to other potential clients, spreading the information about Aggredi through word of mouth. While most clients are directed through the crime agency in cooperation with agency officials, Aggredi may redirect clients if the workers believe they would benefit more from a different kind of treatment. Aggredi's only criteria for cancelling a cliency is if the workers are informed of the client having committed sexual crimes. When asked about whether the program is better suited for a specific age group, the workers note that youth are more challenging to work with compared to clients in their thirties. They underline that offenders with serious substance abuse issues might not be fit to participate in the program.

The workers also express that Aggredi has had issues with communication regarding contacting and reaching their focus group; due to its sensitive nature, Aggredi is not openly advertised in comparison to Helsinki Mission's other aid programmes and mostly known by the authorities within the field of crime or prison communities. The workers state that reaching non-offenders is more challenging.

The workers of Aggredi also believes that the direction of clients to the program and the implementation of their reintegration poses challenges;

W1: This has been a good example, the development of client direction has been and is still a big issue; how we get clients here and how we get

them integrated back to society, I mean it's not always the client that's reluctant, but authorities are also reluctant regarding this.

The workers further argued that getting clients to their program office and back to prison successfully during their prison term may pose a challenge for the security officials, which could in part explain the challenges with the communication process. Regarding communication with the criminal sanctions agencies officials, the workers noted it varies between different prisons with some reportedly less cooperative than others. The workers note that some offenders are more difficult to reach depending on which prison they come from.

6.2.4 Practicalities and focus group - Clients

All clients that participated in this study served a prison sentence during the time of the interview, while three clients attended Aggredi as a part of their prison sentence plan. One client had participated in two different Aggredi programs due to being moved to various prisons during his sentence. Five clients had been directed to Aggredi by various prison staff; four clients by the criminal sanction's agency officials, and one client by the prisons substance abuse treatment program worker. P2, P3, P4 and P5 knew about the program prior to their participation while P1 and P6 had not heard of it at all. Previous information about Aggredi included fellow prison inmates and friends, as well as prison fairs about post-prison preparation programs.

Two of the clients interviewed knew other clients from the program. These included their friends or fellow inmates from their prison community. The clients noted they did not actively discuss the program with them, but that Aggredi had been received positively and was an appreciated program in prison, contrasting their positive relations to Aggredi's workers with authority officials.

Five out of six clients had prior experience of participating in rehabilitation programs regarding either anger management, substance abuse treatment, ex-offender support groups or individual therapy.

All clients expressed having generally favourable experiences with practicalities regarding starting the program. Four of six clients sessions had begun in prison. Two

of these clients, P5 and P4, had requested to attend Aggredi from their closed prisons, with P5 meeting the workers in prison during the beginning and P4 being able to attend after transitioning from a closed prison to an open one. The other two clients (P1 and P2) had similar experiences. P1 had differing experiences from two open prisons, one who had not allowed access to the Aggredi office and another who allowed access immediately.

P2 also begun the program sessions in prison and recalls having one to ten sessions in prison before being allowed to leave. P2 also reported that during their sessions in prison, Aggredi and P2 had worked together to reach accessibility to the program office. All interviewees had been assigned two workers and established a meeting schedule during the time of their interviews. Most of the participants attended sessions every other week, while one client visited Aggredi every week. One participant, P2, issued complaints regarding their scheduling, wishing he could attend sessions more often;

Chris: Do you have a plan for how often you will visit here?

P2: Every other week. I would attend every week, but the prison won't allow that.

Aino: Okay. Do you feel it would be more beneficial for you if you'd attend more often?

P2: Yeah, it would.

P2 noted he was unsure of whether his scheduling was temporary or bound to change. Among the interviewed, one client, P5, had been directed to other forms of treatment in addition to the program. He had experienced mental health issues and was suggested to seek help for it by the program workers. When discussing it with the workers they had encouraged him to seek help for his symptoms, after which he received treatment and continued with the program.

All interviewees had experiences of either violent behaviour or being involved in violent situations. One client, P3, did not see himself as a part of Aggredi's focus group, noting that he does not have problems with violence;

P3: I'm not a violent person, it's just the alcohol that's caused this, and the alcohol is out of my life, I believe it. This prison sentence taught me. I learned a lot, it opened my eyes. You see things more clearly now.

P3 did not identify as a violent person and believed his issues revolved around alcohol use rather than violent behaviour. He further noted that he saw his violent offense-

related sentence as unjust and that his prison sentence had already taught him what he needed.

6.2.5 Analysis

In practice, Aggredi followed their official age limits of 18-49, but did make exceptions for underage clients if the program workers deem it necessary. While accepting underage clients in cooperation with authorities may prevent the client's further segregation if no other means of treatment are available, Aggredi has no guidelines for when to make exceptions.

Regarding the focus group, the workers did not redirect clients to other programs unless they had committed types of violence that is not within their range (such as domestic violence or sexual abuse). They did redirect clients to other forms of treatment if necessary, but there were no written guidelines for redirections either. Regarding contact scheduling, the criminal sanctions agency is currently the main source of clients for the program. The cooperation between Aggredi and the criminal sanctions officials allows for a focused and effective selection of possible clients, as well as a coherent outline for the scheduling and practicalities due to the client being under their supervision. Communication with the authorities and client direction also raised concerns between the program workers and clients.

It is difficult to establish whether the differences in various prisons are imposed due to their own varying strictness regarding practicalities or whether it is due to the distance between the client's prison and the program office, which may pose a security issue. The variation can also be due to the client's own conditions. It is clear, however, that getting access to the program may take longer for some clients than others. Aggredi aims to secure the clients participation to the program by initiating the sessions in prison until they gain access to the program office. This is both time-consuming for the workers and breaks away from the ideal program practice, which underlines the need of a space detached from a prison identity. Due to this, I believe more than three sessions in the prison may pose a risk to the client's attachment to the program. As such, it is recommended that a stronger communication with the criminal sanction's agency is

initiated to secure a more coherent execution of contact and practicalities with clients of the program.

While the program is known and shares a good reputation within the prison community, only having information of the program from prison authorities or street violence groups decreases possibilities of non-offenders to find the program. As such, non-offenders are currently harder to reach. A possible solution to improve Aggredi's contact with its entire focus group is to establish a cooperation between mental health workers within health care institutions or educational institutions.

6.3.1 Attachment and program motivation - Workers

During new clients' first visits to Aggredi, they are told about the program, asked about their own goals and what they want to focus on during their cliency. The workers comply with the goal the clients present, creating a shared plan from there.

From the beginning of the program, the clients are presented with the choice to create their own goals and boundaries. The workers emphasize that the introduction needs to be simple, neutral and flexible to encourage the client to start the program. The initial aims and discussions can be small-scaled and based on motives less connected to decreasing violence, such as just wanting to come to the office and leave the prison for a while.

In order to secure the attachment of the clients, the introduction first strives to establish a sense of trust between client and worker. The initial meetings are based on discussions, while other working tools may be introduced later on. Trust is built through open dialog, which highlights the value of the client's truths and letting them be heard;

W4: The first sessions are about building trust and getting to an open dialog. And that's where the social constructionism comes in where the clients truth is respected and for these guys its like a moment of "hey, they actually listen", and from that the trust is formed.

The workers note they view the client's identity change as a process that occurs with time and unfolds through their various discussions. The workers aim to encounter the clients as regular people rather than violent criminals to enhance and discuss the client's identity outside their violent behaviour. When discussing how the workers motivate

their clients, they also note that the open encounters and the moment that is created during the sessions can be attaching in itself;

Aino: How do you keep the client motivated?

W3: We don't- I think we've abandoned that idea. We don't motivate- nobody can motivate another, I think that the encounter here between us and the client and this working space, the moment we create is attaching in itself. We trust that the client feels it's easy to come here. Discussing things feels easy and you get out of prison for a bit.

The workers believe simply getting to the program environment and getting out of prison is enough reason and a good motivator to join the program. The workers do not believe in actively invoking motivation in other clients, noting that their platform offered to the clients is motivating in itself. However, the workers did discuss ways in which they helped to maintain motivation expressed by clients. To help the clients keep their motivation, they emphasize the importance of supporting them in enduring the challenges related to reintegrating to society, such as struggles with housing and finance skills.

6.3.2 Attachment and program motivation - Clients

All clients interviewed had participated in at least three sessions in the program. During their first meetings, the clients noted they had been asked what their reason for attending the program is, what they want to discuss, if they have current goals or future plans and how the program workers can help them fulfill them. Emphasis had been put on the client, allowing them to state their own needs and motives.

While not all clients had discussed their program goal and violent behavior in a more personal level yet, none of the clients found it hard to be open towards the workers. When asked about setting the pace for the discussions, all clients noted they were given freedom to decide the topic and manner of discussion. They expressed positive reactions towards the workers, perceiving them as honest and trustworthy. When asked how the workers had responded to their offenses, all workers considered their reactions to be neutral rather than condemning. The clients noted that talking about their violent background to the workers was easier compared to talking with prison officials;

Chris: How do you experience the cooperation with the Aggredi staff compared to experience with other authorities, or these state authorities we talked about earlier, what's the difference between these groups?

P4: If I open up about something here, they don't judge you for it or punish you or anything like that. You can talk about things openly and don't have to think about it in any way.

The clients perceived the workers as non-judgmental and open in their reception and underlined that being honest with them was easier for it.

Of all six clients, only one client had no specific goal in mind for the program (P3), while all other clients attended the program with the aim of decreasing their violent behavior and improving their life situation.

Motives for attendance and dropping out

Aggredi's working method seemed easily attainable for the clients, most of whom attended the program with clear intentions regarding either violent behavior or life issues. Regarding the clients who attended Aggredi as a part of their sentence plan, none expressed feeling forced to participate. Some of these clients wanted to change their behavior, but also sought the program for social benefits;

Aino: What made you decide on trying this program? P1: Well, firstly they (prison worker) said it supports my sentence plan, looks good on paper when I visit here, was what first came to mind. And then you get off the (prison). That's fucking great.

When discussing in what ways Aggredi had motivated the clients during the program, the programs placement outside prison was also brought up by clients. For others, motivation to participate stemmed from the open structure that allowed the clients to flexibly decide the topics of discussion. However, while the clients generally sought that Aggredi's open structure was a motivator for program participation, a desire to change was also highlighted;

Aino: Do you think Aggredi's methods suit certain types of people more than others? Would certain types of people get more out of this program?

P5: If you aren't very affirmative towards treatment and don't want any change, there's probably no point. I mean, nothing's going to work if you yourself don't want help.

The clients further noted that motivation and a genuine aspiration towards personal change was necessary for a successful treatment. They underlined that people who are skeptical towards rehabilitation or unwilling to seek treatment may not benefit from Aggredi, nor any rehabilitative program. These factors described necessary to start the program were also frequently brought up when discussing reasons for dropping out of Aggredi. P6 compared disrupting the program to his experiences of quitting addiction care;

Chris Quite many customers quit the program especially during this introduction phase, what reasons do you think there could be to it?

P6: You aren't ready for that change. You feel that there's nothing wrong with me and I don't need this. Because if I think about this- I've quit rehab so many times before and somehow I just wasn't ready for it. No matter how much you want change- you just aren't ready. You've got no strength for it. These are the kinds of things where you are forced to humble yourself quite a lot.

He further underlined that in order to be ready to change and begin treatment, one must reach a sense of modesty in their self-image and understand why their actions have been condemned.

Only two of the six clients interviewed brought up other reasons for discontinuing Aggredi. One client argued that structural factors, such as being denied access by the prison staff might influence program attendance. P3, who did not view themselves as violent, proposed that people would resist attending in fear of being seen as violent criminals.

6.3.3 Analysis

Overall, both clients and workers depictions of the client's attachment to the program seemed to align with Aggredi's official handbook and work as intended. The attachment procedures consisted of encountering the clients neutrally and discussing their background, needs and program goal on the client's own terms. Through being open and flexible with the clients, the attachment phase served to establish a sense of trust towards the program during the first three sessions. While workers emphasized the need

for clients to be heard, the clients expressed relief over being able to talk about their issues without fear of being judged.

Henwood et al's (2008) study suggested that a strong therapeutic bond between worker and client may positively influence the offender program quality. They specified that the therapeutic bond could be enhanced through applying an individualized, less structured approach. The client's reports in this study align with Henwood et al's suggestions; the individualized approach along with placing the program outside prison seemed to lower the threshold to become familiarized with the program and its workers. This in turn, may have enhanced their attachment. Expanding on how the client-worker bond could have enhanced program attachment, Aggredi may have fostered attachment through the workers expressed desire to support the clients in their recovery. In stressing the importance of letting the clients be heard and direct their own recovery, the workers seemed to display an unconditional intent of supporting them in their rehabilitation. The clients' positive reactions to the program reception may thus derive from perceptions of being met with a genuine desire to help. While this desire should always be part of quality treatment praxis, displaying this desire seems to have been enabled by the programs individualized format. It is thus suggested that a) expressed desire to help might enhance violent offenders desire to receive treatment and that b) conveying a desire to help could be enhanced by utilizing individualized methods of treatment.

The positive reception to the less restrictive treatment method also aligns with Feldman's (2016) concerns regarding mandatory treatment; while clients in Feldman's study were intimidated by the coerciveness of the program structure despite showing motivation for change, clients in this study seemed to find the less restrictive approach aligning with their motivation for self- improvement.

Regarding client motivation and attachment, Aggredi's official handbook acknowledged that the clients must have a desire to change themselves that for treatment to begin, stressing that experiencing turning points can initiate treatment readiness (Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 29). Both workers and clients emphasized this sentiment, expressing that initiating motivation to change is a personal act that is required to start treatment. Likewise, clients mentioned the lack of motivation, unwillingness or inability to change

as reasons for discontinuing the program. The previous impact evaluation by Aaltonen & Hinkkanen (2014) suggested that the lowered recidivism determined in Aggreði's clients who completed the program may have been influenced by their generally higher motivation in addition to, or regardless of program attendance. Henwood et al's (2018) results similarly suggested that pre-existing readiness to change may have influenced the study's outcome. Reflecting on these results, the clients' attachment may have also been enhanced by their pre-established desire to begin treatment.

While Aggreði's attachment methods generally seem to work as intended, the results suggest that the programs individualized framework seems to provide the best possibilities for attachment to people who have attained a motivation to change prior to participation. The methods for attachment may thus serve as both a strength and a limitation for the program; while placing emphasis on individual agency may lower the threshold for some client's attachment, receiving treatment according to the clients own terms provides them with a lot of responsibility. This may aid clients who are determined to make decisions regarding their treatment. However, it may prove challenging for clients who have less motivation for treatment or experience issues with self-control. Clients who are in a more vulnerable position, the so called *high-risk, high-needs* clients, may thus find attaching to a less restricted program more challenging despite facing a greater need of treatment (Olver, Stockdale & Wormith, 2011, p. 16–18). However, these clients may generally be harder to attach. Nonetheless, to improve chances of attachment for both treatment-ready clients as well as hesitant clients, Aggreði could consider developing a more directive policy as an alternative alongside their open approach. The directive policy could be suggested to clients that risk not attaching through the open structure as long as it does not invalidate the client's interpretative prerogative.

6.4.1 Aggreði's working method – Workers

Aggreði's main work method consists of creating a space for open encounters through discussions with the client and their two workers. The structure of Aggreði's working methods is open and constantly adaptable according to the client's needs, with no fixated duration time for the clients nor a zero-tolerance policy on violence and

substance use. While it is based on social constructionism, the workers use the theoretical approach as an inspiration rather than as an active methodological background;

W1: The social constructionism is in what we do, but we haven't addressed it deeply as a theoretical perspective. Rather, we use it as a viewpoint in that we respect the persons own truth and the ways in which they tell it.

In practice, the workers note the theory is applied by giving space for the client's own perceptions, needs and narratives during discussions. Aside from discussions with clients, the workers may write things down or draw things like life courses or mind-maps with the client. The workers emphasize that varying working methods, such as tools other than discussion during client meetings have emerged during recent years. The workers note that at its current state, the only constant conditions for Aggredi's working method in addition to practicalities are the following; regular meetings with two workers for each client, working with the clients goals both analytically and practically, maintaining a neutral, honest and open interaction with the client, as well as working with one's personality. As Aggredi's working method and structure is built around analytical and practical rehabilitation, their current execution of these methods can be divided into two categories; reflective dialog and practical aid.

Reflective dialog

In practice, Aggredi's reflective dialog entails both discussions that are centred around daily life as well as more analytical reflections regarding one's past. The reflective approach is initiated through the open structure once the program begins, as the client sets the pace for what is discussed. Since the workers aim to create open encounters, they do not force the client to discuss their violent behaviour. Instead, the topics can range from small talk to problems regarding everyday life. The workers emphasize using a neutral language when interacting with the clients, which contrasts the communication within the prison community. The workers note that abstaining from using the same prison community slang as the clients creates a distance to it which may help impact the clients own narratives;

W3: You can see it on a concrete level when the client starts talking. When previously its been "these damn pigs" regarding cops or "damn SW's

(for social workers) or “damn turnkeys” (for prison officers) And that kind of talk starts to change. At some point you might even have the client realizing that the police just does their job, you know? And these are the signs of when identity starts attaching to other places than their own criminal history or world of crime.

They assert that how clients talk about themselves and their offenses may change over time when they start separating themselves from their offenses, leading to changes in attachment and identity. Despite the initial focus on small talk, the workers recognized the impact and presence of the client's violent actions in their client work. They noted that as the discussions progress, more analytical discussions regarding violent behaviour can emerge. The clients may want to discuss their past, or current life or violence issues they are dealing with. The workers note they help the clients' process and reflect on their actions as they emerge during the cliency. The teamwork that is set up during the cliency aims to process and discuss things that clients find difficult or emotionally draining regarding their lives and violent behaviour.

The workers note that they aim to keep the discussions non-hierarchical despite still being supportive. The workers do not see the value of their own opinions above their clients and aim to preserve a framework of interaction that allows for disagreements. This is emphasized using two workers for each client, as the two workers do not always agree with one another's opinions and may react differently on the topics discussed. Offering advice and opinions on the topics discussed, the model is used to create variety and openness between all three parties. The workers believe this encourages the client to form their own perspectives regarding their problems. Having two workers also allows for a more supportive stance on interactive discussions where the client feels they are not heard or is unsure about the advice given by the first worker.

Keeping the discussions non-hierarchical and open is further highlighted through the workers use of their personality during program sessions. Aggredi workers note they may share personal details to create an interaction where information flows both ways;

W1: [...]: This use of the workers own personality is also peer mentoring and reintegration in that i talk about experiences of fatherhood, or applying for work and various problems [...] and when there's three of us at the sessions, it creates peer support using common sense.

Despite all workers having a long background of social work with marginalised client groups, they emphasize their positions as ordinary people with ordinary advice. The workers claim that exchanging experiences regarding everyday life through the position of peers' common sense maintains the client's reintegration process.

The workers only return to past discussions or events if the clients wish to discuss them, nor do they write notes on the clients to bring up at a later point, generally keeping the meetings more future-oriented than focusing on the clients past.

Practical aid

While using reflective dialog helps the client and worker analytically process the clients behaviour, not all clients want to discuss their past experiences of violence or analyse their actions. Instead, the workers note that they focus on discussing the present situation or future prospects. Regarding violent behaviour, they emphasize finding solutions to prevent future violent situations. For both of these themes, working methods based on practical aid are used;

W5: There is a connection since our work is a lot about building a life to society, I mean we apply for houses and places to study so we aren't always jabbering about violence.

In practice, the central work methods for practical aid are sparring, future preparations and organizations of daily life.

According to the workers, sparring consists of going through and preparing clients for their challenges of everyday life. Emphasis is put on accepting and dealing with disappointments through finding solutions to the missteps. When discussing difficult situations, the workers note they focus on assessing the event;

W1: One of our working methods is this- we do sparring, coaching on how to talk. We don't use the wording of count to ten to be less aggressive. It's getting the client's goals fulfilled in a good way during discussions [...] our aim is getting the client to manage through meetings with Kela (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland) or the employment services [...]

If the challenges are too much to handle, the workers may accompany the clients to their appointments. The workers view the processing of these situations as another part of reintegrating the client to society, aiming to get them accustomed to the practicalities of

daily life. The challenges deal with daily social appointments or situations that may be stressful or frustrating for the clients.

As with the reflective dialog, the workers describe the advice given to the clients resembling common sense rather than techniques based on cognitive or behavioural methods. This further emphasizes the non-hierarchical structure of the program, as the interaction is based on the workers personality and the advice thus matches that of a peer or a mentor.

Despite sparring consisting mostly of behavioural advice based on common sense, the workers utilize their work backgrounds when helping the client with practicalities regarding future preparations or organization of daily life. Regarding practicalities, the workers varying expertise is necessary to help the clients sort out their concerns. In addition to the workers using their personalities, they emphasize different work backgrounds within the program unit. The workers note that they use their work backgrounds to advice clients with issues such as parental rights, housing, education and social relations. Making future plans or helping clients organize daily life is also connected to their integration process as it helps them set up plans that are not connected to the prison community. Attaching the clients to new projects unrelated to crime is seen as a practical method through which identity change is processed;

*Chris: Can you elaborate on how you assess the client's identity?
W2 [...] Right now I think we try to attach the client to other things, like them getting that internship or degree place, and change through the positive feedback received from those places.*

The workers further note that attaching the clients to society via practical goals alongside a more emotion-based reflection aims to help the client relearn and identify with conventional, societal interaction. While Aggredi's workers note that the clients tend to leave the program following newfound security in managing in society, some clients continue to visit occasionally. The workers allow old visitors, noting that they may not have found other social relations. As such, they may still have interests in asking Aggredi for advice or update on their current life situation.

Currently, Aggredi does not have a descriptive manual for their work methods other than the official handbook. The workers note that having the same working team for

eight years has impacted the lack of a manual at its current state. As they have no manual, hiring and educating a new recruit would happen vocally, with the new worker following the sessions and working out their own style of open encounters using their personality. Ultimately, both personality and work background are emphasized when hiring new staff. As all current workers have been hired through internal connections, future staff would be appointed internally as well.

Aggredi's current work method partly follows the guidebook published in 2012, though some methods and strategies have changed or become outdated over time; the workers pointed out that the four approach strategies mentioned in the guidebook are embedded in their work, but not applied actively. According to the workers, their previous method of motivating discussions now refers to the process of attaching the client, and the other three discussion methods are simply defined as treatment-based, where emphasis is put on learning normal interaction, introspection and processing of emotions, as well as practical aid. While the focus on language, narrative identity change and reattachment to society is clear in their work methods, the workers do not make notes on their clients' progress through formal documentation. Instead, the workers recognize and discuss changes together with the client throughout their sessions.

As the evaluation criteria function as a part of the client discussions, the criteria are not evaluated in a static, structured manner. The workers note that the primary introduction phase evaluation and continuous follow-up status evaluations serve as evaluation measures in addition to discussing progress with the client. As such, the status evaluation forms and statistics currently serve as their documented and regulated measure of program impact. Additionally, the clients' progress is continuously discussed during the week between the workers as they share the office space. The workers note that updating their guidebook would be necessary due to the changes in use of methods since its publication. Currently, Aggredi produces statistics on their clients that serve to help the workers follow their progress.

The definitions of their statistical classifications have changed over the years. While the ended cliencies sometimes include people who are defined as out of reach, their responsible workers decide the definition of the clients' attachment, which leaves it

open for variation. Neither classification seems to operate on a standardized definition, while the workers also point out the statistics possible lack of coherency.

6.4.2 AggreDis working methods in practice - Clients

Based on the client interviews, the clients focused on reflective dialog through both small talk and analytical discussions. As mentioned in chapter 6.3.2, the clients expressed being able to talk openly about both everyday life and personal issues. For some clients, their sessions so far had centred on talking about violence during early and adult life. The clients mentioned discussing when violence had emerged, how their own violent behaviour has developed and to whom it has been directed. Clients expressed a need to go through histories of both committing and experiencing violent behaviour. All of the clients reported that the program workers personalities had a prominent and positive role in the program. They expressed satisfaction at the workers open, natural attitudes during their sessions, as it helped create a relaxed environment. The clients also felt the workers personalities made it easier for them to initiate discussions and bring up difficult topics. The workers treatment of the clients was contrasted with authorities or prison staff.;

P4: If i say something, from these guys here i get their own personal experiences of situations versus when I say something to the prisons drug counsellor nothing really comes out of it, just the expectation of what should happen. There's no interaction in a way that if I tell you something, you can't tell me because you are a prison worker.

According to the clients, the workers offered different, nuanced perspectives compared to authorities. Overall, the workers personalities were actively used during the sessions and positively received, according to the clients.

Practical aid

All clients had discussed their current situations with the workers and expressed different needs of practical aid. Regarding organization of daily life, four clients were looking for employment or education during the time of the interview, and had been offered help with applying for study programs and work by the program workers. The program workers had also offered to cooperate with the client's social workers or guardians when needed. Some clients looked for work and education together with the

workers, while others did most of the work on their own and kept the workers updated. For the clients who had secured work or education, discussions centred on maintaining their current situation.

In addition to offering practical aid, the clients noted future prospects were often discussed. Clients reported that the discussions centred on how they intend to continue their rehabilitation and manage in society after release from prison. The clients noted that the workers also offered advice regarding their plans;

P3: Through them, we applied to the school and sent emails and i got an email response for a few schools. Then I wanted to go there for work before they directed be a little bit like it's better to apply for school and then to work from there you get better wage, if you have a certificate.

Overall, advice and support was offered in organizing and actualizing both present and future plans.

The clients also reflected upon varying needs regarding their violent behaviour. All six clients reported to not being currently violently active, with most of the clients stating they had not been physically violent during the last 1-4 years. P3 saw substance abuse rather than violence as the cause of their offense and focused only on practical aid for their life situation. All other five clients expressed a need to address both past and current problems related to violence in the program. Three of these clients had expressed issues with anger management. During the interviews, all three clients reflected on the reasons for losing their temper and wanted to address these with the workers. During the time of the interview, two clients had discussed their issues with the workers. The problems were discussed with a focus on both present and future, addressing how the clients currently think they should act when losing their temper, and what tools may be useful for managing their behaviour. P1 saw substance abuse as a key factor in reducing their violent behaviour. For him, the discussions revolved around finding solutions through other sources of self-development such as hobbies or education.

For P5, addressing the anger management had been centred around both solution-based discussions and sparring. During their sessions, they had discussed incidents where he

experienced losing his temper. According to P5, he would later use the advice in practice;

Chris: Do you have an example for how you've applied the things you've learnt here?

P5: I have applied them yeah, I just had an internship at (city) and there was a boy at the internship place constantly opposing me. Then I told him that "let's make a deal; you don't talk nothing to me no more", since he was bossing me around all the time. Then we argued back and forth. And I almost lost it and nearly hit him but instead, I decided to just get out of there. So I left in the middle of the workday, full speed. Then we went through what had happened (in Aggredi), why you lose your temper in those situations and how one could act in the future.

As for the program structure, all clients viewed the open structure-working method positively. Firstly, the clients appreciated deciding the content of the program themselves. They expressed frustration and pressure over scheduled and pre-themed sessions, preferring to discuss their personal matters on their own accord. As such, most clients saw that the open structure allowed for more freedom regarding self-expression, and a higher trust towards the workers. Two clients proposed that Aggredi may be easier attainable for people who are generally open and that a lack of structure may make it more intimidating for shy or timid people to express themselves.

Secondly, the clients underlined the lack of other re-entry programs available outside prison. They saw risks in losing their support once freed from prison due to the limited support given when re-entering society, to which Aggredi served as a point of security.

Thirdly, the clients discussed the programs lack of a zero policy towards violence and substance use during participation. Questions regarding this policy were discussed with four out of six interviewees. Out of the four clients, three saw the lack of a zero tolerance policy on violence and substance abuse as an opportunity rather than a threat. One noted that the process of recovery is seldom initiated with a "clean" slate. They further noted that attending Aggredi while intoxicated is unlikely since it wouldn't be beneficial for them.

One of the four clients was unsure whether not having this policy was favourable, as the client themselves saw a high connection between violence and substance abuse and

believed that people with serious drug abuse issues needed to quit completely if they wanted to recover.

6.4.3 Analysis

Aggredi's working methods aimed to provide efficient ways to help their clients to detach themselves from violent behavior and criminal activities. The core guidelines consistent with the handbook consisted of reflective dialog, organization of daily life, sparring and working with narratives. The only method that did not align with the handbook regarded the approach strategies to discussion, which had taken on new meanings within the other methods. Aggredi's fundamental values within their current practice can be described as working with the client's goals both analytically and practically, maintaining a neutral and open interaction with the client, as well as working with one's personality. In sum, however, these working methods can be categorized under the use of reflective dialog and practical aid. In practice, reflective dialog that entails both small talk and analytical discussions allows clients to reflect on themselves through both mundane topics as well as more difficult, past-related topics of discussion. The method of reflective dialog appears to serve their program goals in two ways.

Firstly, it works to reintegrate the clients to society by allowing them to reform social relations through the program workers. Secondly, the social relations created within the program presents opportunities of reconstructing the client's identity. The methods seem to work towards attaching the client's new relations and identity to society.

Reflective dialog as pro-social peer mentors

To elaborate on these findings, Aggredi's workers present themselves as supportive companions whom share their experiences regarding the maintaining formal and informal social bonds. They do not keep the discussions focused on violence, but encourage discussions about their daily lives. The advice given regarding life and violence issues is derived from both personal and professional understanding, yet framed as common sense between co-mates. As such, the workers seem to present themselves as *pro-social peer mentors*. By taking on this role, Aggredi becomes a support network from which the basics of socialization can be practiced until the skills

learnt from connecting with the workers can be transferred to new bonds in society. As a support group representing “everyday joe’s”, the program workers appear to offer a more personal bridge to societal integration.

Additionally, Aggreedi’s pro-social peer mentor approach is amplified by the workers expression of differing opinions. This continuously places their knowledge and interpretation of what is being said up for debate. In other words, the client is actively encouraged to redefine what is being analysed and develop their own understanding of themselves and their needs. These findings align with Aggreedi’s intended use of social constructionism in their working methods. Aggreedi seems to create an environment where intersubjectivity between client and worker is directly shaped through the clients actions in the meetings. In discussing common sense- advice, clients create a shared sense of common knowledge with their workers. The workers thus form a platform of socialization, where clients can construct new narratives about themselves to produce and maintain new identities (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 21–22). Through this method, possibilities of their view of reality taking on new meanings unrelated to their criminal identity seems to be either maintained or enhanced.

The application of practical aid

The method of practical aid strived to transfer the reflective dialog to concrete actions. In practice, it is a more future-oriented approach. Sparring involves creating scenarios where an ideal version of the events can be produced, while organization of daily life and future preparations is a more practical method of reattaching to society through applying for jobs, education and accommodation.

Out of all working methods, sparring seems to take the most direct approach towards dissecting issues with violent behaviour. While not many clients had gotten to practice sparring exercises during the time of the interview, the clients who did expressed that it enabled a deeper recognition of their anger issues. Sparring also seemed to motivate them to make further effort to improve themselves with the aid of their workers. The previous intervention research of Trimble et al (2015) showed that clients who became aware of their anger issues and showed motivation to change also made better progress in the program. Trimble et al proposed that measures to maintain readiness to change needed to be established. Reflecting on their results, the method of sparring seemed to

both invoke awareness of anger issues and provide an example of a maintenance tool for the clients' readiness to change.

The method of practical aid generally resembled solution-based therapy (SFBT). SFBT applies a future- and goal-oriented emphasis by working with the clients own resources in managing their issues. Through recognizing exceptions to the regularity of the clients' problems and envisioning solutions to their problems, the clients use *scales* for continuous measurement of their progress (Trepper, Dolan, McCollum, & Nelson, 2006, p. 134). Assessing a solutions-based approach served as a goal in their official handbook, Aggredi's sparring and recurring self-evaluation discussions with clients appear based on SFBT methods in accordance to their method description.

The clients positive reception of organizing daily life expanded further on Feldman's (2016, p. 102–103) previous research. Feldman highlighted the negative implications of violent offender interventions sole focus on AM strategies. While Feldman proposed that skills necessary for reintegration such as housing or employment could improve the quality of offender interventions, Aggredi's clients appreciated practicing these skills in addition to working on their violence issues. In knowledge of Feldman's findings, the results suggest that Aggredi seemed to successfully provide an expansive working method for managing anger and life issues. As such, results suggest that a focusing on issues related to reintegration within violent offender treatment could enhance its quality.

Aggredi's open structure generally functioned as described in Aggredi's handbook. Generally, both workers and clients saw the open schedule as a possibility rather than a threat as the integrational support beyond the institutional care was found limited. In contrast to the clients in Feldman's (2016, p. 30) study who expressed being left unsupported upon re-entry, Aggredi's clients expressed relief over knowing the program would be accessible after release. While ending their cliency was not topical for the clients, the workers underlined that on rare occasions visitors with challenges to form social relations would stop by Aggredi after having ended their cliency.

Aggredis working methods from a perspective of desistance

From a perspective of desistance, the findings align with my previous proposal of Aggredi as a supporter of the client's maintenance process. As pro-social peer mentors,

Aggredi workers seem to create social bonds that serve as hooks for change for the clients (Giodarno, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002). Once attached to Aggredi, this encourages clients to detach themselves from their criminal trajectories by reflecting on Aggredi value as a pro-social relation. Attaching to Aggredi thus seems to offer possibilities of recreating similar relations in society. The program thus works under the assumption is that if the clients attach to the bonds created in their cliency, they are encouraged to seek these bonds in society as well and detach themselves from criminal trajectories. As most clients had experienced turning points through incarceration or social bonds and aimed to desist from crime, Aggredi functioned as an upholder for their initiated primary and secondary desistance; most clients had aims of not going back to jail and seeking help for their violence issues upon entering Aggredi. Likewise, most clients had begun to reflect on themselves prior to program participation. Aggredi seemed to foster pre-established readiness to change and continue working on the maintenance of secondary desistance with the client. The use of social constructionism thus aligned with the concept of secondary desistance, as Aggredi helped their clients in their process of rediscovering themselves in a life without violent crime. As Aggredi worked to help clients detach themselves from criminal trajectories, the programs more direct role in regards to desistance seemed to consist of helping the clients initiate tertiary desistance.

The methods of reflective dialog aimed to foster pro-social relations through Aggredi's pro-social peer mentors approach while the practical aid seemed to allow the clients to envision and actualize future, positive pathways to social integration. Aggredi thus seemed to function as a pathway to forming a sense of belonging in society (Nugent & Schinkel, 2016).

More specifically, the program worked to help their clients manage through the hardships of their everyday-life. Upholding a maintenance process through the path to desistance requires a continuous effort to withstand adversity. A qualitative study on the desistance of ex-offenders by Brieger Nugent and Marguerite Schinkel (2016) highlights this adversity as *pains of desistance*. In their study, offenders who had ceased criminal activity had often cut ties with their former social circles connected to crime. Frustrated by both the loss of previous social bonds and their incarceration, the offenders isolated themselves upon release, enacting their incarceration rather than embracing their newfound freedom (Nugent & Schinkel, 2016, p. 572). For many ex-

offenders, their social workers formed their only societal connection. However, the social workers were not always able to secure the clients' attachment to society due to difficulties in finding work with their prior criminal records. Nugent and Schinkel (2016, p. 579) found that ex-offenders maintenance processes lead to social isolation despite a successful primary and secondary desistance. Without securing tertiary desistance, the ex-offenders experienced *pains of isolation*, *goal failure* and *hopelessness*. In light of Nugent and Schinkel's findings, Aggreedi's individualized working methods seemed to work against the pains of desistance; pains of goal failure were assessed through their solutions-based methods, while pains of isolation was countered through their pro-social peer mentors approach and cooperation with other support services. Most importantly, their individualized approach and expression of unconditional desire to help their clients seemed to offer them security upon release from prison. From the perspective of desistance, one of Aggreedi's most prominent features is its role as a constant, secure social bond during a process filled with uncertainty.

A risk with this approach regards Aggreedi's visitors, or clients who have formed a social bond with Aggreedi but are partly or completely unable to recreate it elsewhere despite desisting from crime. As Aggreedi seems to function as a pathway to social integration, the assumption is that the program would cease to be needed after securing a sense of belonging in society. If the clients revisit Aggreedi unable to secure pro-social bonds elsewhere, is it a sign of failure to secure tertiary desistance? While not seeing to this need may leave the client even more socially isolated, this approach also risks having the clients become overly dependent on the programs offered support. Currently, the results suggests that visitors are not a common client group in Aggreedi. Nonetheless, it is advised that Aggreedi further assess their treatment of visitors. A suggestion is that some general assessments for recognizing when visitors may risk becoming co-dependent on Aggreedi's support and how to further encourage these clients to establish social bonds outside Aggreedi are developed.

Aggreedi's aims in relation to its structure- the missing links

Overall, Aggreedi's working methods reflect their aims of reducing violence and improving the well-being of their clients. Based on the findings, Aggreedi's two main goals of reducing client's violent behaviour and increasing their well-being are carried

out in practice through reflective dialog and practical aid. While some aspects of practical aid places specific focus on the client's violent behaviour, the program mostly approaches their violent behaviour indirectly. As such, the program first and foremost works to attach the clients to new trajectories by an individualized approach that highlights the clients life and violence issues at their own pace.

Regarding program structure, the programs working method fundamentally embraces a continuous flexibility towards its clients. As such, it redefines itself in accordance to the changing needs of its focus group, which explains the differences between the handbook and the program practice. The core structure of the program highlights recovery moment by moment, and as such uses the established handbook and the theory of social constructionism as inspiration rather than firm guidelines. Likewise, the handbooks measures of assessing client progress were not used in practice but executed through recurring documented evaluations together with the client. The workers own evaluation of client progress mentioned in the handbook was assessed verbally rather than through standardized documentation. Additionally, Aggredi's statistical inquiries on their clients had changed over the years, and may lack coherency. The lack of an updated working method handbook and evaluation methods partly resulted from a long time of sharing the same working group.

The lack of a standardized treatment format may further elaborate on the issues faced in Aaltonen's and Hinkkanen's (2014) impact evaluation. Based on the findings of this study, changes in the programs treatment methods and structure may have challenged the treatment measures stability. As defining treatment and control groups requires structured information on both, as well as the circumstances of both groups, it is thus likely that the impact evaluations results were influenced by Aggredi's lack of a standardized treatment structure.

As the findings in this study suggest Aggredi's individualized, less structured approach has potential regarding fostering client attachment and readiness to change, the unstructured mechanisms from which the flexible working methods operate raise some concerns. While allowing the treatment methods to change according to the workers needs does not negate the aims of the program, it can be questioned whether a lack of an official treatment manual for applying these methods serves them. Although current

working methods could be successfully maintained through internal hiring and vocal instructing, this method may be prove scarce on a larger scale. If new applications of the program will continue to form in other locations, a documented and updated working treatment manual may be necessary to secure the transference of the programs principles.

7. Conclusions

The primary aim of this process evaluation was to outline the goals and working methods of Aggredi. The study sought to assess whether or not Aggredi worked as intended. As such, the first research question aimed to investigate the aims of Aggredi. The second research question addressed the means through which Aggredi operated and whether the program aims were met.

Based on the previous research, this study explored Aggredi's individualized working methods and their strategies for program attachment. Reflecting on the previous impact evaluation, emphasis was put on assessing the clients expressed motivation and readiness to change in relation to the program.

Connecting the study to a framework of criminological theory, the secondary aim for this process evaluation was to assess the programs role in the clients processes of desistance. The third research question thus addressed the ways in which clients may express desire to desist from violent offending and how they are accounted for in Aggredi.

The study viewed both official and oral information to assess the programs aims and means; the official information consisted of the programs official handbook (Kekki & Salakka, 2012), information on Aggredi available on the internet and statistical data on the clients provided by the program workers. For the oral information, data was gathered from the program's clients and workers using semi-structured interviews. The interviews were analyzed using the general qualitative method of thematic analysis, through which codes were created and identified based on the research questions and theoretical framework of this study. In this chapter, I conclude this study by outlining a

summary of its findings. Finally, I discuss policy recommendations, research limitations and suggestions of future research.

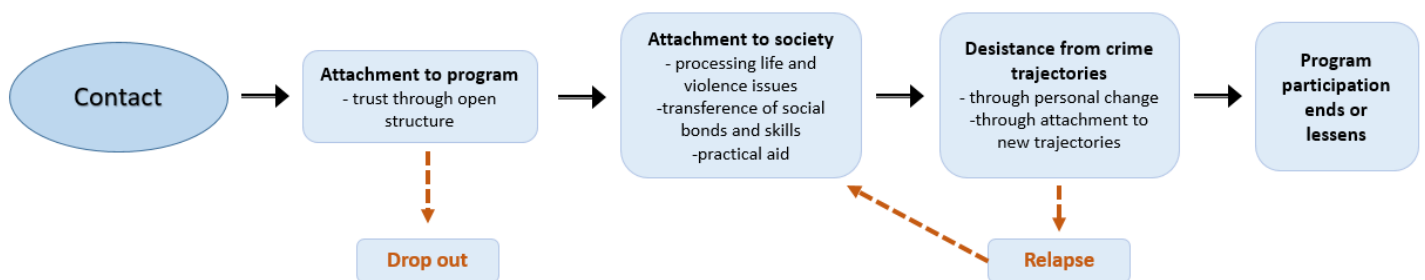
7.1 Main results

Aggredi's aims

Aggredi's aim was to help their clients cease their violent behavior and increase their well-being. Aggredi strived to improve lives of their clients by helping them see opportunities in a life detached from violent crime. The programs ideal methods of treatment implemented the theory of social constructionism. As such, the program emphasized the ability to change by reconstructing ones identity. The programs ideal values emphasized an open dialog between worker and client, a neutral, low-threshold reception, and working with one's personality. Above all, Aggredi's treatment approach applied a loose structure and worked in accordance to the clients' needs.

Aggredis official handbook provided a more detailed description of the programs ideal treatment methods. The handbook addressed policies regarding client contact, attachment and working methods. Regarding practicalities, Aggredi aimed to reach both violent offenders and non-offenders through cooperation with authority officials.

Aggredi's attachment phase aimed to secure a trustful cliency during the first three client sessions. During these sessions, the workers strived to neutrally discuss the clients goals and current life situation. Finally, Aggredi's ideal working methods depicted strategies related to various discussion forms, as well as practical assessments of life and violence issues. Having compared the programs aims and means, the following model of Aggredi's current working mechanisms was constructed to illustrate the main findings of their practice.



Picture 1: Model of Aggredis program structure

Aggredi's practice in accordance to its aims

The main findings regarding Aggredi's procedures have been implemented in the reconstructed working model illustrated in picture 1. Based on the findings of this study, Aggredi worked to help their clients detach from violent behavior and improve their life situation through attachment and self-improvement. Firstly, Aggredi worked to attach clients to their program. Secondly, the programs working methods helped the client reevaluate their self-conceptions and foster new attachments in society. Both aims of reducing the clients' violent behavior and improving their life situation were carried out through these practices. The program thus guided their clients towards desistance by enhancing personal motivation and helping them find social relations in society. Aggredi's practicalities, client attachment and working methods all aligned with these procedures.

Regarding practicalities, Aggredi's cliency consisted mostly of violent offenders directed to the program through the Criminal Sanctions Agency. While the program had a good reputation among the inmate community through word of mouth, the workers noted that non-offenders were hard to recruit to the program due to limited advertising. The timing of accessing the program varied between the clients and their prisons. This left the programs access policies somewhat unclear. The workers noted that due to varying communications between prisons, clients were easier to reach from some prisons, and more challenging to reach in others.

Once directed to the program, Aggredi worked to gain the trust of their clients. While workers highlighted the need for clients to be heard, the clients enjoyed discussing their issues openly and setting the pace for their discussions. While clients seemed eager to attend the program, they also stressed that motivation to change was needed in order to begin treatment.

Henwood et al's study (2008) highlighted the importance of a strong therapeutic bond between worker and client for program quality. This process evaluation found that Aggredi's methods for attachment appeared to enhance the clients bond to the worked in two ways. Firstly, placing the program outside prison seemed to help the clients familiarize with the program workers. Secondly, by allowing the client to decide the

programs content and be heard, the workers seemed to display an unconditional intent of supporting them in their recovery. The results suggested that an expressed desire to help might enhance violent offenders desire to receive treatment. Furthermore, conveying this desire in Aggredi seemed to be enhanced by their personalized approach. Aggredi's individualized attachment methods thus seemed to serve the programs aims and work as intended.

However, the clients' reports on program motivation aligned with previous research on the influence of readiness to change for treatment impact (Howells et al, 2005, p. 309). This approach seemed to provide the best possibilities for attachment to clients with pre-established treatment readiness. Based on the client reports, less motivated, or high-risk high-needs clients, may find attaching to a less restricted program more challenging (Olver et al, 2011).

This study found that Aggredi's handbook depiction of their working methods were partly outdated. In practice, Aggredi did not follow the handbooks depicted strategies for discussion or impact evaluation, but used other methods instead. While the theory of social constructionism was visible in their work, the workers themselves reported to use it as inspiration rather than embedded policy. Aggredi's methods of gathering statistics on clients had also changed over the years, which raised uncertainty regarding the credibility of their data.

However, their current practices detected could be described as reflective dialog and practical aid. These practices captured most of the handbooks depicted methods and aligned with Aggredi's program values. In practice, Aggredi's reflective dialog utilized the program workers personalities to help clients practice their social skills; as "pro-social peer mentors", the workers seemed to offer opportunities of relearning socialization. This method aligned with Aggredi's intended use of social constructionism, as it seemed to allow clients to form new narratives through a shared common knowledge between the worker and client (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Kekki & Salakka, 2012, p. 21–22). The methods of practical aid, or sparring and organization of daily life, worked to transfer new narratives into practice. Based on the client reports, sparring seemed to constitute the most direct method of managing violence issues. Clients reported of going through violent events with the program workers and

identifying aspects of improvement for future challenges. The method clearly resembled that of traditional solutions-based therapy, which aligned with the programs aims (Trepper et al, 2006). Through organization of daily life, the program provided skills regarding housing and education.

7.2 Aggredi from a perspective of desistance

In regards to the clients' desistance process, most clients had experienced turning points preceding their program attendance. Their turning points aligned with factors commonly attributed to detachment from criminal trajectories within desistance research; the most notable factors regarded inter-personal change, social bonds and imprisonment (Clarke & Cormish, 1985; Maruna, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Based on the clients' strong motivation to avoid reoffending following their imprisonment, the study suggested that incarceration constituted an element of motivation and deterrence for the clients (Kaufman, 1973). While current criminological research suggests incarceration is not a guaranteed turning point towards desistance, the study findings suggested that Aggredi seemed to counteract possible demotivating prison influences (Bhati & Piquero, 2008; Frisch, 2018).

From a perspective of desistance, Aggredi seemed to function as a supporter of the clients initiated desistance process, or a hook for change. In accordance with both Maruna's and Mcneil's views of desistance, Aggredi seemed to maintain a pre-established primary and secondary desistance, and act as an initiator for tertiary desistance (Maruna, 2001; Mcneil, 2016). Tertiary desistance was initiated through the programs pro-social peer mentors- approach, which allowed clients to form social bonds with the workers. The program worked to transfer these bonds to societal relations through the methods of practical aid. Through these practices, the program workers appeared to counterweight pains of desistance such as isolation, goal failure and hopelessness (Nugent & Schinkel, 2016). While Aggredi's unlimited attendance policy offered the clients security when other prison-limited treatment programs ended, this policy also raised some concerns. If clients are unable to secure pro-social bonds outside the program, they could risk becoming overly dependent on Aggredi's support. Based on these findings, an unlimited program attendance may serve as both a possibility and a threat to the clients' tertiary desistance.

7.3 Program implications and policy recommendations

Aggredi's essential feature is its non-structured, individualized approach. The lack of a standardized structure gives clients opportunities to direct their own rehabilitation and explore sensitive issues at their own pace. For violent offenders attending the program while in prison, Aggredi offers a possibility of self-discovery and support in otherwise restricted conditions. Overall, the individualized approach seems to serve as a pathway for clients towards regaining a life detached from violent crime. For the program's continuation, it is suggested these methods be maintained. However, the personalized approach captures both the strengths and limits of the program. As the program emphasizes a pre-established desire to change, people lacking treatment motivation may find program attachment more difficult. While the risk seems low, the open attendance could lead to overdependence for clients unable to form social bonds outside Aggredi. Additionally, a revision for Aggredi's methods of evaluating and applying their individualized approach is recommended. To secure that their working methods continue serving the programs aims, some additions to their existing methods are proposed. The policy concerns and recommendations have been produced in knowledge of Aggredi's current program resources.

Regarding practicalities, the variety in client's entry procedures may need to be assessed. It is recommended that a stronger communication with the criminal sanction's agency is initiated to secure a more coherent execution of contact and practicalities with clients of the program. Furthermore, to reach non-offenders to the program, Aggredi could consider discussing possibilities to broaden their visibility with Helsinki Mission. To improve chances of attachment for both treatment-ready clients as well as hesitant clients, Aggredi could consider developing a more directive policy as an alternative alongside their open approach. A more directive policy could be suggested to clients that risk not attaching through the open structure as long as it does not invalidate the clients interpretative prerogative.

Regarding the programs open attendance, Aggredi could form general assessments for recognizing when former clients may risk becoming co-dependent on Aggredi's support. Aggredi could also strengthen their strategies for further encouraging these clients to establish social bonds outside the program.

Finally, if new applications of the program will continue to form in other locations, an updated treatment manual is necessary to secure the transference of the programs principles. Aggredi could also consider enhancing their methods for self-evaluation by maintaining more coherent documentation and statistics of their clients.

7.4 Research Limitations

Although this study aimed to maintain a systematic approach, limitations regarding its research design must be assessed. Firstly, the systematic review on violent offender research was limited. While results were included based on their referee policy to ensure quality, results were restricted to findings in English language only. This left out potentially useful studies on offender programs conducted in other languages. Furthermore, the findings consisted mostly of impact evaluations of group-based programs. While the results raised topics of interest to this study, additional previous research on individualized programs may have provided more insight to Aggredi's treatment methods.

Secondly, the data and methods used in this study had limitations. Due to the small sample size, as well as the unstandardized structure of the program, the study findings cannot be generalized to other violent offender programs. However, the results provide important insight to Aggredi's working methods and may reflect other Aggredi programs treatment structures. As such, the results can be of use to the practice of Aggredi programs. Regarding the focus group, the clients interviewed for this study were all current participators of the program. While the clients assessed necessities required for successful treatment, more critical reports may have occurred with an inclusion of dropouts to the focus group.

Regarding methods for qualitative inquiry, the semi-structured interviews may have contributed to subject effects. This was counterbalanced by strengthening the confidentiality between interviewers and clients, reducing reactivity and maintaining a neutral position as a researcher. Despite dedicated efforts, personal bias from all parties involved, as well as reactivity and nervousness of the interviewers may have influenced the results (Kivivuori et al, 2018, p. 104–106 .). The participators of this study were only interviewed once, which limits the scope of evaluating the program. Evaluating the

program through longitudinal methods such as observation could have offered better insight to the programs practice. However, this study focused on new participants of the program. As this group of clients may be in a more hesitant position during program entry, being observed during the first three sessions might have negatively influenced their program attachment. As such, semi-structured interviews allowed for a more interactive approach, which ensured a more personal, yet straightforward inquiry of knowledge.

The method of percent agreement used for assessing interrater reliability in this study had limits. While the method is uncomplicated, it does not consider chance agreement (Gravetter & Forzano, 2018, p. 414).

7.5 Future research recommendations

An important aim for this study was assessing the results of the previous impact evaluation of Aggredi (Aaltonen & Hinkkanen, 2014). Based on this study, Aggredi's non-standardized working methods may have influenced the challenges in forming a reliable research frame for the evaluation. As such, conducting a future impact evaluation on Aggredi may prove tasking. However, if Aggredi were to maintain an updated treatment manual and documented self-evaluation, evaluating the effectiveness of their treatment is suggested. As Aggredi may continue to expand their programs to cities other than Helsinki, further studies of the programs is recommended to assess differences between program implementations.

For future impact evaluations on Aggredi programs, a research frame consisting of a randomized experimental design is suggested. It is also recommended the evaluation include qualitative assessments on the programs process. For the qualitative inquiries, a brief observational study combined with interviews is suggested to secure a thorough depiction of the program practice. Including both participants and dropouts in the study is advised to assess reasons for program discontinuation. Furthermore, if interrater reliability is measured, it is recommended that the measure of Cohen's Kappa (Cohen, 1960) be used to counterbalance chance agreement.

Finally, future research on Aggredi must work towards securing a translation of knowledge between researchers and program practitioners. Reflecting on the need for translational criminology, future studies must maintain an open communication with the program workers. It is recommended that researchers continue to transfer their results with transparency and regards to the programs capabilities and resources. To explore on results regarding Aggredi's treatment methods more specifically, the following topics for future research are proposed.

Firstly, further research on offender treatment programs with an individualized structure is proposed to explore on the results of this study. This study suggests the program workers desire to treat their clients may enhance the worker-client bond and secure program attachment. Investigating the impact of workers desire to treat on clients readiness to change could provide further knowledge regarding the effect of individualized worker-client bonds. As such, it is suggested that both clients and workers could be studied when evaluating program impact. A measure of readiness to treat could function as an asset to measures of readiness to change when assessing the program effect.

Secondly, this study showed that program placement outside prison seemed to enhance client attachment. An interesting topic for future is the impact of offender program placement on both program performance and social reintegration. Examining the effects of program placement would be limited to individual-based treatment, as placing group-based programs outside prison is more challenging.

Regarding desistance research, further inquiries focusing on tertiary desistance may prove useful for both the field of criminology and offender treatment programs. Further qualitative research is required to assess the needs and challenges faced by ex-offenders upon release from prison. A follow-up study of ex-offenders including pre-release and post-release interviews could provide insight on the ways in which pains of desistance challenges the reintegration process.

8. References

Adams, W. (2015) Conducting semi-structured interviews. In K. Newcomer, H. Hatry & J. Wholey (Eds.) *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation*, 4th Ed, (pp. 492- 505). USA: John Wiley & Sons.

Aaltonen, M., & Hinkkanen, V. (2014). *Katuväkivaltatyön vaikuttavuus: HelsinkiMission Aggredi-ohjelman arviointi*. Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos. Verkkokatsauksia 40/2014. Used from the following address:
<https://www.helsinkimissio.fi/sites/default/files/custom/Optula.pdf>

Abbott, A. (2001). *Time Matters: On Theory and Method*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York : Doubleday.

Bhati, A. S., & Piquero, A. R. (2007). Estimating the Impact of Incarceration on Subsequent Offending Trajectories: Deterrent, Criminogenic, or Null Effect?. *The journal of criminal law and criminology*, 98(1), 207-254.

Black, G., Forrester, A., Wilks, M., Riaz, M., Maguire, H., & Carlin, P. (2011). Using initiative to provide clinical intervention groups in prison: a process evaluation. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 23(1), 70-76.

Blomberg, T. G., Mestre, J., & Mann, K. (2013). Seeking causality in a world of contingency. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12(4), 571-584.

Blumstein, A., J. Cohen, J. A. Roth, and C. A. Visher, eds. 1986. *Criminal careers and "career criminals"*, vol. 1. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Braga, A. A. (2016). The continued importance of measuring potentially harmful impacts of crime prevention programs: the academy of experimental criminology 2014 Joan McCord lecture. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 12(1), 1-20.

Clarke, R. V., & Cornish, D. B. (1985). Modeling offenders' decisions: A framework for research and policy. *Crime and justice*, 6, 147-185.

Cohen, J. (1960). A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. *Educational and psychological measurement*, 20(1), 37-46.

Dowden, C., & Serin, R. (2001). *Anger management programming for offenders: The impact of programme performance measures* (Research Report No. R-106). Ottawa, Canada: Correctional Service of Canada.

Easton, D. (1965). *A systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Eamon, K. C., Munchua, M. M., & Reddon, J. R. (2001). Effectiveness of an anger management program for women inmates. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 34(1), 45-60.

Elder, G. H., Jr., Johnson, M. K., & Crosnoe, R. (2003). The emergence and development of life course theory. In J.T. Mortimer & M.J. Shanahan (eds), *Handbook of the life course* (pp. 3-19). Springer, Boston, MA.

Elder, G. H. Jr., & Pellerin, L. A. (1998). Linking history and human lives. In J. Z. Giele, & G. H. Elder, Jr. (Eds.), *Methods of life course research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (pp. 264-294). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Escamilla, A. (1998). A cognitive approach to anger management treatment for juvenile offenders. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 27(1-2), 199-208.

Farrington, D. P. (2006). Methodological quality and the evaluation of anti-crime programs. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 2(3), 329-337.

Feldman, Cory M., "Mandated Anger Management from the Perspective of Violent Offenders" (2016). *CUNY Academic Works*.
https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1725

Frisch, N. (2018). *Framing Imprisonment as a Turning Point in the Lives of Criminally-Involved Adults* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, College Park.

Helsinki Missio (2019) 'Aggredi in English'. Helsinki mission,
<https://www.helsinkimissio.fi/aggredi/aggredi-english>, Date accessed: 14 may, 2018.

FSD (2019) 'Aineiston hallinta', Finnish Social Science Data Archive,
<https://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistonhallinta/en/>, Date accessed: 20 august, 2018.

Galletta, A. (2013), *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*, New York University Press, New York and London.

Goldstein, N. E. S., Dovidio, A., Kalbeitzner, R., Weil, J., & Strachan, M. (2007). Anger management for female juvenile offenders: Results of a pilot study. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 7(2), 1-28.

Gravetter, F. J., & Forzano, L. B. (2012). *Research Methods for the Behavioral Sciences*, 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 78.

Giele, J. Z., & Elder, G. H. (Eds.). (1998). *Methods of life course research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Sage publications

Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Rudolph, J. L. (2002). Gender, crime, and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation. *American journal of sociology*, 107(4), 990-1064.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-606.

Henwood, K. S., Browne, K. D., & Chou, S. (2018). A randomized controlled trial exploring the effects of brief anger management on community-based offenders in Malta. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology*, 62(3), 785-805.

Herman, J. L., Morris, L. L., & Fitz-Gibbon, C. T. (1987). *Evaluator's handbook* (Vol. 1). London: Sage publications.

Howells, K., Day, A., Williamson, P., Bubner, S., Jauncey, S., Parker, A., & Heseltine, K. (2005). Brief anger management programs with offenders: Outcomes and predictors of change. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 16(2), 296-311.

Hirsjärvi, S., & Hurme, H. (1982). *Teemahaastattelu*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hunter, D., & Hughes, G. V. (1993, January). Anger Management in the Prison: An Evaluation; Anger Management Program Outcomes. In *Corrections Research Forum* (Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 3-9).

Ireland, J. L. (2004). Anger management therapy with young male offenders: An evaluation of treatment outcome. *Aggressive Behavior: Official Journal of the International Society for Research on Aggression*, 30(2), 174-185.

Kaufman, E. (1973). Prison: Punishment, treatment, or deterrent? *Journal of psychiatry Law* (3): 335-351.

Kazemian, L. (2007). Desistance from crime: Theoretical, empirical, methodological, and policy considerations. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 23(1), 5-27.

Kekki, T., & Salakka, P. (2012). *Aggredi – Väkivalta ei ole mulle mikään ongelma*. Espoo: Kopijyvä Oy.

Kurlychek, M. C., Bushway, S. D., & Brame, R. (2012). Long-term crime desistance and recidivism patterns- evidence from the Essex County convicted felon study. *Criminology*, 50(1), 71–103.

Kivivuori, J., Aaltonen, M., Näsi, M., Suonpää, K. & Daniellson, P. (2018). *Kriminologia: rikollisuus ja knotrolli muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa*. Tallinna: Gaudeamus.

Kääriäinen, J. T., Lehti, M. M., Danielsson, P. M. & Aaltonen, M. (2016). Pahoinpitely- ja ryöstörikokset. In *Rikollisuustilanne 2016. Rikollisuuskehitys tilastojen ja tutkimusten valossa*. Helsingin yliopisto, Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta, Kriminologien ja oikeuspolitiikan instituutti. Verkkokatsauksia 22/2017 (pp. 49-80). Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Laub, J. H., & Frisch, N. E. (2016). Translational criminology: A new path forward. In T. G. Blomberg, J. M. Brancale., K. M. Beaver & W. D. Bales (Eds.), *Advancing Criminology and Criminal Justice Policy* (pp. 52-62). New York: Routledge.

Lehti, M. M., Suonpää, K. E-M. & Kivivuori, J. K. A. (2016). Henkirikokset. In *Rikollisuustilanne 2016. Rikollisuuskehitys tilastojen ja tutkimusten valossa*. Helsingin yliopisto, Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta, Kriminologien ja oikeuspolitiikan instituutti. Verkkokatsauksia 22/2017 (pp. 13-47). Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Liem, M., Zahn, M. A., & Tichavsky, L. (2014). Criminal Recidivism Among Homicide Offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29(14), 2630-2651.

Maruna, S. (2001). *Making good: How ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Maruna, S., & Farrall, S. (2004). Desistance from Crime: A Theoretical Reformulation. p. 171-194 in: D. Oberwittler, S. Karstedt, (Eds.), *Soziologie der Kriminalität* (Sonderheft 43 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie).

McHugh, M. L. (2012). Interrater reliability: the kappa statistic. *Biochemia medica*, 22(3), 276-282.

McNeill, F. (2016) Desistance and criminal justice in Scotland. In: H. Croall, G. Mooney, R. Munro (Eds). *Crime, Justice and Society in Scotland*. London: Routledge, 200–216

Maruna, S., & Le Bel, T. (2010). The desistance paradigm in correctional practice: From programs to lives. In F. McNeill, P. Raynor, & C. Trotter (Eds.), *Offender supervision: New directions in theory, research and practice* (pp. 65-89). Cullompton, UK: Willan.

National Research Council. (2005). *Improving evaluation of anticrime programs*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

National Research Council. (2012). *Using science as evidence in public policy*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Nugent, B., & Schinkel, M. (2016). The pains of desistance. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 16(5), 568-584.

Näsi, M. J., Danielsson, P. M., Aaltonen, M., & Lehti, M. M. (2018). Pahoinpitely- ja ryöstörikkokset. In Niemi, H (Ed), *Rikollisuustilanne 2017: rikollisuuskehitys tilastojen ja tutkimusten valossa* (pp. 51-82). Helsingin yliopisto, kriminologian ja oikeuspolitiikan instituutti.

Olver, M., Stockdale, K., & Wormith, J. (2011). A Meta-Analysis of Predictors of Offender Treatment Attrition and Its Relationship to Recidivism. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 79(1), 6-21.

Patton, M. (2015) *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. 4th Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Peräkylä, A. (1997). Validity and reliability in research based tapes and transcripts. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative analysis: Issues of Theory and Method* (pp. 201-220). London: Sage.

Rhine, E. E., Mawhorr, T. L., & Parks, E. C. (2006). Implementation: The bane of effective correctional programs. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5(2), 347-358.

Rutman, L. (1977). *Evaluation research methods: a basic guide*. California: Sage Publications.

Sampson, R., & Laub, J. (1993). *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sanderlin, T. K. (2016). Anger Management with Aggressive Criminal Offenders in a Low Fear, High Arousal Group Environment. *Annals of Psychotherapy & Integrative Health*, 1.

Retrieved from

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=115251210&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Sampson, R. J., Winship, C., & Knight, C. (2013). Translating causal claims. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12(4), 587-616.

Seale, C. (2004). Coding and analysing data. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Researching society and culture*. 2nd ed., (pp. 306-320). London: Sage.

Serin, Ralph C., Renée Gobeil, and Denise L. Preston. (2009). Evaluation of the persistently violent offender treatment program. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 53 (1), 57-73.

Silva, F., & Hartney, C. (2012). Evaluation of the insight prison project. Oakland, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Swope, C. K. (2016). *An exploration of attachment, trauma, and treatment outcome in a cognitive behavioral therapy-based group anger management program: A multiple case study* (Doctoral dissertation, St. Mary's University (Texas)).

Trepper, T. S., Dolan, Y., McCollum, E. E., & Nelson, T. (2006). Steve De Shazer and the future of solution-focused therapy. *Journal of marital and family therapy*, 32(2), 133-139.

Trimble, T. J., Shevlin, M., Egan, V., O'Hare, G., Rogers, D., & Hannigan, B. (2015). An evaluation of a brief anger management programme for offenders managed in the community using cross-lagged panel models. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, 5(2), 124-136.

Valliant, P. M., Jensen, B., & Raven-Brook, L. (1995). Brief cognitive behavioural therapy with male adolescent offenders in open custody or on probation: An evaluation of management of anger. *Psychological Reports*, 76(3), 1056-1058.

Veeh, C. A., Severson, M. E., & Lee, J. (2017). Evaluation of a serious and violent offender reentry initiative (SVORI) program in a Midwest state. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 28(3), 238-254.

Walters, G. D. (2009). Anger management training in incarcerated male offenders: Differential impact on proactive and reactive criminal thinking. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 8(3), 214-217.

Watt, B. D., & Howells, K. (1999). Skills training for aggression control: Evaluation of an anger management programme for violent offenders. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 4(2), 285-300.

Watts, J. H. (2008). Integrity in qualitative research. In: Given, Lisa M. ed. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods, Volume 1*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, pp. 440–441.

Wholey, J.S. (1977). Evaluability assessment. In L. Rutman (Ed.), *Evaluation research methods: A basic guide* (pp. 41–56). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage publications.

Appendix

Appendix 1: structured form for client information

Ikä				
Sukupuoli	Mies	Nainen		
Asiakkuuden kesto				
Suorittaako tuomiota	Kyllä	Ei		
Jos, mitä Yhdyskuntapalvelu	Vankeustuomio	Ehdollinen		
Kumppani	Kyllä	Ei		
Lapsia	Kyllä	Ei		
Asuintilanne omaa asuntoa		Omistaa	Vuokralla	Ei
Työtilanne	Töissä	Työtön		
Mitkä yhteiskunnan tarjoamat tuet käytössä				
Päihteidenkäyttö	Kyllä	Ei		
	Alkoholi	Muut päihteet		
Oma kokemus ongelmakäytöstä	Ongelma	Ei ongelmaa		
Rikostausta				

Appendix 2: Interview questions for clients

Huom. 15minuutin epävirallinen keskustelu ennen haastattelun aloittamista (työntekijä paikalla) jolloin käydään läpi suostumuslomake ja muuta prosessiarvioinnista

- Emme kerro Aggredin työntekijöille mistä on puhuttu
- Mahdollisimman rehellinen puhe Aggredista toivottua: kriittisyys auttaa Aggredia kehittymään
- Avataan hieman haastattelun sisältöä ja kulkua: tullaan kysymään asiakkaan omasta elämästä ja taustasta sekä pyytää asiakasta pohtimaan Aggredia

erilaisista näkökulmista. Mainitse, että välillä kysymykset tuntuvat varmaankin toistolta.

- Kysymyksiin ei tarvitse vastata
- Tauot OK milloin tahansa

Tausta / 10 min

Tulo Aggrediin

- Mistä sait tietää Aggredista?
- Onko Aggredi sinulle tuttu ennestään? (Oletko kuullut Aggredista puhuttavan?)
- Miten muodostit päätöksen hakeutua Aggredin piiriin? Mikä motivoi sinua?
- Oliko päätös oma (vai kannustiko joku viranomainen, sukulainen tai kumppani)?
- Miten hakeutuminen Aggrediin onnistui, oliko helppoa? Auttoivatko muut tahot haussa/järjestelyissä? Saitko helposti tarvittavat tiedot?
- Miten kauan olet ollut asiakkaana?
- Kuinka useasti olet käynyt tähän asti? (miten usein suunnittelet käyväsi)

Elämä ennen Aggredia

- Elämä ennen Aggredia: Mistä olet kotoisin? Missä olet käynyt koulua? Millaisessa perheessä olet kasvanut? (lapsuus) Millainen ystäväpiirisi on ollut? Onko sinulla omaa perhettä? Missä olet ollut töissä/opiskellut? (nuoruus, aikuisuus)
- Mitä elämässäsi oli meneillään juuri ennen kuin hakeuduit Aggrediin? (oliko jokin tietty esim. tapahtuma joka sai hakeutumaan Aggrediin)
- Koetko, että väkivaltaisuus on aiheuttanut sinulle ongelmia?
- Koetko, että väkivalta on sinulle ongelma?
- Milloin (väkivalta)ongelmat ovat alkaneet?
- Haluatko/oletko halunnut vaikuttaa väkivaltaisuuteesi?
- Mitä koet, että on vaikuttanut väkivaltaisuuteesi (esim. tapahtumat, elämäntilanteet)?
- Millaiset tekotilanteet, onko tekohetkessä paikalla ollut vain sinä tai myös muita? Jos muita, oletko tuntenut ennestään?
- Koetko, että sinua on provosoitu tai painostettu väkivaltaan?
- Onko sinulla päihteiden liikakäytön taustaa?
- Ovatko päihteet vaikuttaneet väkivaltatekoihin?
- Onko muuta rikostaustaa?
- Milloin olet ollut ensimmäistä kertaa yhteydessä viranomaisten kanssa lainrikkomuksen takia? Mistä se johtui? Samankaltaisia tilanteita tämän jälkeen?
- Suhde muihin viranomaisiin/kokemus muista viranomaisista?

Käsitys Aggredista / 10 min

- Mitä olet kokenut, että Aggredi ohjelmallaan tavoittelee? (millä tavalla)
- Onko tämä myös sinun tavoitteesi?
- Mitä tapaamisten aikana konkreettisesti tapahtuu? (Mitä asioita olette tähän mennessä käyneet läpi?)
- Minkälaisista asioista puhutte tapaamisten aikana?
- Onko muita toimintatapoja kuin keskustelu? Mitä?
- Kuka päättää mistä keskustellaan tai mitä tapaamisissa tehdään? (onko asiakkaan ohjaamaa?)
- Miten väkivaltaisuutesi vähenemistä lähestytään keskusteluissa? Puhutteko sinusta ja miten esim. voisit hallita itseäsi ja omaa elämääsi? Mietitkö miten yhteistyötä muihin viranomaisiin/sosiaalitoimiin voisi ylläpitää?

- Onko sinulla erityisiä asioita, joita haluaisit käydä Aggredissa läpi ja oletko saanut käydä näitä läpi?

Motivaatio / 5 min

- Nyt kun olet käynyt kerran/pari, mikä on ensivaikutelma Aggredista? Haluatko jatkaa Aggredissa? Miksi?
- Harkitsetko vielä Aggredin keskeyttämistä? (drop out)
- Onko Aggredi ja käynnit täällä motivoineet sinua muuttumaan? Miten?
- Onko Aggredi ja käynnit täällä motivoineet sinua muuttamaan väkivaltaista käyttäytymistä?
- Koetko että jokin muu asia elämässäsi motivoi väkivallan vähentämistä tällä hetkellä?
- Tuntuuko sinusta, että sinun on pakko käydä Aggredissa?
- Moni asiakas on keskeyttänyt Aggredin. Mitkä voisivat olla keskeisiä syitä siihen, että moni asiakas keskeyttää Aggredi-ohjelman?

Käsitys Aggredin vaikuttavuudesta pt 1 / 10 min

- Oletko huomannut, että nämä pari käyntikertaa olisi auttanut väkivaltaisuutesi jo? Miten?
- Jos, niin milloin huomasit muutoksen?
- Onko suuttumusta helpompi hillitä?
- Mikäli koet, että väkivaltaisuutesi on vähentynyt: vähentyikö väkivaltaisuutesi (1) ennen kuin päätit osallistua Aggrediin, (2) sen jälkeen, kun olit päättänyt osallistua Aggrediin, vai (3) vasta kun olit jo alkanut käydä Aggredin tapaamisissa?
- Miksi Aggredin kaltainen ohjelma mielestäsi voisi vähentää väkivaltaisuutta? Miksi ei?
- Mitä mieltä olet, sopiiko Aggredi jollekin tietynlaiselle ihmistyyppille tai ryhmälle? Paremminkin toiselle (esim. vaaditaanko jotain "luonteenpiirteitä" jotta Aggredi sopisi)?
- Miksi luulet että tämä hoitomuoto sopisi juuri sinulle?
- Yksi Aggredin tavoitteista on auttaa asiakasta pohtimaan omaa minäkuvaansa ja sen kautta haastaa väkivaltaiset käsitykset itsestään. Tuntuuko että hoito voi vaikuttaa näin kohdallasi?
- Onko jotain muuta tapaa (mekanismia), jonka kautta ohjelma voi vaikuttaa? Millä muulla tavalla Aggredi-ohjelma voisi muuttaa asiakkaan käyttäytymistä?
- Vaikuttaako Aggredissa käydyt keskustelut elämääsi Aggredin ulkopuolella? (esim. perheen/työn/viranomaisten kohtaamisessa) Miten?
- Koetko, että Aggredi voisi tarjota sinulle tukiverkoston? Millä tavalla?
- Onko muita asioita jotka ovat vaikuttaneet positiivisesti elämääsi asiakkuutesi aikana? (työ/koulutus/perhe/parisuhde/ystävät)
- Onko muita asioita jotka ovat vähentäneet väkivaltaisuuttasi asiakkuutesi aikana?

Mahdolliset kielteiset vaikutukset / 7 min

(sano asiakkaalle, että tämä on aina osa arviointitutkimusta)

- Miten tekosi on otettu vastaan Aggredissa? (Oikeutusta, tuomitsemista, täysin neutraalia?)
- Jos ei vielä keskusteltu teoista, miten toivoisit niiden otettavan vastaan?

- Aggredissa keskustelut ja toimintatavat etenevät asiakkaiden halujen ja tarpeiden mukaan. Mitä positiivisia puolia tässä on? Entä negatiivisia?
- Aggredi-ohjelmalla ei ole päättymisaikaa, ja asiakas päättää itse, milloin on valmis jättämään ohjelman. Miten itse koet tämän?
- Mitä luulet, että vaatii, että joku olisi valmis aloittamaan Aggredissa?
- Mitä luulet, että vaatii, että joku olisi valmis lopettamaan säännölliset käynnit Aggredissa?
- Joistakin rikosentorjuntaohjelmista on löydetty myös haittapuolia niistä käyville. Luuletko, että Aggredista voisi olla jollekin asiakkaalle haittaa? Miten?
- Näetkö mahdollisena, että joku voisi tulla Aggredista ”riippuvaiseksi”?
- Oletko tutustunut muihin asiakkaisiin?

Käsitys Aggredin yhteistyöstä (vaikuttavuudesta pt 2) / 10 min

- Miten yhteistyö on sujunut Aggredin työntekijöiden kanssa?
- Koetko että pystyt avoimesti kertomaan itsestäsi tapaamisissa?
- Oletko joskus jättänyt kertomatta jotain mitä olisit halunnut kertoa? Miksi?
- Miten työntekijät pyrkivät motivoimaan sinua?
- Mikä vaikutus tai painoarvo on työntekijöiden persoonallisuudella?
- Onko sillä merkitystä, ettei Aggredi ota kantaa asiakkaan rikostaustaan/ei vaadi asiakkailta päihitteettömyyttä tai väkivallattomuutta? Millä tavalla?
- Miten paljon hoidosta on käytännön apua/tukea?
- Onko jotain apua/tukea mitä Aggredi ei ole tarjonnut ja toivot, että tarjoaisivat?
- Onko sinulla tällä hetkellä käytössä yhteiskunnan tukia tai avustuksia?
- Onko jotain yhteiskunnallisia tukia tai avustuksia joita sinulla ei ole käytössä ja joita koet, että voisit tarvita?
- Oletko koskaan ollut osallisena muussa ohjelmassa?
- Jos olet, miten koet Aggredin verrattuna muihin ohjelmiin?
- Miten koet yhteistyön Aggredin kanssa verrattuna yhteistyön muihin viranomaisiin?

Käsitykset omasta tulevaisuudesta / 3 min

- Miltä elämäntilanteesi näyttää tällä hetkellä väkivaltaisen käyttäytymisen kannalta? Entä tulevaisuus? (desistanssoptimismi)
- Miten toivot Aggredin voivan vaikuttaa väkivaltaisuuteesi? Entä elämäntilanteeseesi yleisesti? (integroituminen, syrjäytyneisyys)
- Oletko huomannut positiivista muutosta itsessäsi?
- (Millaista olisi, jos et olisi koskaan käynyt Aggredissa?)

Appendix 3: Interview questions for program workers

Teemahaastattelurunko työntekijöille

(Historia + kohderyhmä + tavoite + keinot 30 min / 9.15-9.45)

Historia (Chris)

- Kertokaa lyhyesti miten itse päädyitte Aggrediin töihin (kuinka kauan ollut töissä, koulutus yms.)
- Mikä koulutus/aiempi työkokemus teillä on?
- Onko kukaan teistä kokemusasiantuntija?
- Milloin Aggredi aloitti toimintansa?
- Mistä/keiltä idea ohjelmaan lähti?
- Mistä ohjelmaan on haettu vaikutteita? (muuta ulkomaisia/kotimaisia ohjelmia, terapia...)
- Miten päädyitte käyttämiinne menetelmiin?
- Miten hanketta rahoitetaan?
- Oliko muita menetelmiä tai toimintatapoja harkinnassa/käytössä aikaisemmin?

Kohderyhmä (Aino)

- ✓ Miten Aggredi saa / valikoi asiakkaansa? (esim. word-of-mouth)
- Miten olette valinneet kohderyhmän?
- Minkä takia pidätte juuri tätä kohderyhmää tärkeänä?
- Millainen on tyypillinen asiakas?

Seuraavaksi käsittelemme Aggredin ns. ideaalista toimintatapaa

Tavoite (ideaali) (Chris)

- Mikä on Aggredin päämäärä? (Väkivallan loppuminen? Muu sosiaalinen integraatio?)
- Mitä se tarkoittaisi, jos Aggredi onnistuisi päämäärässään? (miltä se näyttäisi hoidettavan yksilön kannalta?)

Keinot (ideaali)

(Aino)

- ✓ Mikä on Aggredin pääasiallinen hoitomuoto? Onko kuvattu jossain manuaalissa, hoito-ohjeessa?
- ✓ Kuvaillkaa vielä se mekanismi, jonka kautta arvioitte Aggredin vähentävän väkivalta-alttiutta? (Vaikutus identiteettiin, minäkuvaan, itseä koskevaan 'konstruktioon')
- ✓ Miksi valitsitte muodon, että läsnä on aina 2 Aggredin edustajaa? Hoidollinen motiivi, turvallisuusmotiivi tai muuta?
- Kertokaa millainen olisi ihanteellinen prosessi asiakkaan kanssa? (ensitapaamisesta mahdolliseen lopettamiseen)
- Mikä on on/olisi ihanteellisin tapa saada asiakkaita?
- Miten toimitte asiakkaiden motivoimisen suhteen?

Käytäntö (reaalinen toteutus) (ca 30 min / 9.45-10.15)

(Chris)

- Minkä tekijöiden perusteella valitsette uuden työntekijän? (koulutus, työkokemus, persoona)

- ✓ Miten keskustellette asiakkaan kanssa? Onko teillä manuaalia tai teemarunkoa joka ohjaa kohtaamista, vai onko kyse enemmän vapaamuotoisesta keskustelusta (eli kuinka strukturoitu on tosiasiallinen käytäntö)
- ✓ Miten asiakastyössä käsittelette asiakkaan identiteettiä?
- ✓ Oletteko voineet hoidon aikana havaita, että asiakkaan minäkuva / identiteetti alkaa muuttua, ja miten tämä näkyy konkreettisesti kohtaamisten aikana?
- ✓ Siis: näkyykö hoidon aikana, että jollakulla hoito alkaa purra, ja toisella ei, ja miten se näkyy?
- Miten useasti koette asiakkaan kanssa, että hoitomuoto toimii?

(Aino)

- ✓ Miten saatte / saatteko hoidon aikana tietoa asiakkaan väkivaltaisuudesta? Kysyttekö siitä hoidon aikana, onko se teema jota halutaan pitää esillä keskusteluissa?
- ✓ Liittyykö hoitoon mitään mitä voisi luonnehtia 'käytännön itsekontrollin tehostamiseksi', tyyliin "laske 10:een ennen kuin lyöt" tms.?
- ✓ Oletteko havainnut työssä, että hoidon onnistuminen on vuorovaikutuksessa muiden tekijöiden kanssa (kuten asiakkaan muu elämäntilanne, esim. työ, perhe, vapaa-aika, harrastukset, koulutukset)?
- ✓ Oletteko havainnut, että hoito tehoaa johonkin sosiodemografiseen osaryhmään paremmin kuin toiseen (ikä, väkivallan luonne, kantaväestö, maahanmuuttaja, vankilassa, vapaudessa)?
- Millainen on tyypillinen työpäivä?
- Millainen on hyvä työpäivä?
- Millainen on huono työpäivä?
- Onko teillä yleisiä käytäntöjä ongelmatilanteiden ratkomiseen?
- Onko teillä ollut ohjelman kehittämisen vaiheessa yhteistyötä muiden tahojen kanssa, millaisten?

Ongelmat, haasteet ja tulevaisuus (10.15-10.45)

Ongelmat

(Aino)

- Minkälaisia keskeisiä haasteita hankkeessa on ilmennyt?
- ✓ Missä määrin hoitajan persoona vaikuttaa hoitotulokseen? Mikä on hoitajan 'karisman' ja persoonan merkitys hoidossa?
- ✓ Onko havaittu, että Aggredilla on tahattomia 'sivuvaikutuksia', esim. hoitoriippuvuus tai vastaavaa.
- ✓ Rikoksentorjunnassa on havaittu, että rikoksentekijöiden ryhmäyttäminen (esim. seikkailu- tai elämyskoulutus, booth camp, jengityö kadulla) voi johtaa rikollisuutta lisääviin vaikutuksiin. Valitsitteko ykilötyömuodon sen vuoksi, että ei syntyisi tällaisia ryhmäytymisvaikutuksia? (Onko havaittu mitään muita tahattomia vaikutusmekanismeja, kontraproduktiivisia mekanismeja etc.?)
- Jos voisitte muuttaa mitä tahansa joka edistäisi hankkeen toimivuutta, mitä muuttaisitte?

(Chris)

Mitä asiakasryhmän kohdalla on ollut keskeisiä haasteita?

- Kuinka moni asiakkaistanne keskeyttää ohjelman?
- Miksi luulette että keskeyttäneiden osuus on niin korkea?

- Onko toiminnassa jotain muutettavan varaa keskeyttäneiden osuuden vähentämiseen?
- Näettekö Aggredin 'avoimessa aikajanassa' haasteita? (pitkäaikaiset asiakkaat, riippuvuus hoidosta)
- Entä näettekö että 'avoin aikajana' edistää tavoitteitanne jotenkin?

(Aino)

- Koetteko, että tavoitteenne toteutuvat?
- Onko tällä kentällä kilpailuasetelmia eri hoitotahojen välillä?
- Onko ilmennyt ongelmia yhteistyössä muihin toimintanne kannalta keskeisiin organisaatioihin?

Haasteet & tulevaisuus

(Aino)

- Millaista tarvetta tutkimukselle Aggredista teillä on tulevaisuudessa?
- Oletteko hyötäneet tehdystä vaikuttavuustutkimuksesta?
- Onko vaikuttavuustutkimus vaikuttanut toimintaanne?

(Chris)

- Mitä Helsingin Aggredista ja vaikuttavuustutkimuksesta opittua sovelletaan Aggredin laajenemisen suhteen?
 - Jos tutkimusta vaikuttavuudesta ei olisi tehty, miten itse arvioisitte Aggredin onnistumisen?
 - Tuleeko teillä vielä jotain lisättävää mieleen?
-

Appendix 4: Letter of consent

tutkimus Aggredin toiminnasta

Helsingin yliopiston opiskelijat Chris Carling ja Aino Jauhiainen laativat maisterintutkielmansa Aggredin toiminnasta. Opinnäytteitä ohjaa kriminologian professori Janne Kivivuori. Tutkielman aineistoksi opiskelijat haastattelevat Aggredin työntekijöitä ja asiakkaita.

Tutkimusten tavoitteena on kuvata Aggredin toimintaa ja arvioida sen onnistumista väkivallan vähentämisessä ja elämänhallinnan tukemisessa. Haastatteluissa käsitellään elämäsi kulkua, väkivallan kokemista ja tekemistä, sosiaalisia suhteita toisiin ihmisiin ja instituutioihin (esim. koulutus, työ), minäkuvaa, tuloa Aggrediin, kokemuksia Aggredin työmuodosta, odotuksia ja

toiveita koskien Aggredia ja omaa tulevaisuutta. Haastatteluissa sinua pyydetään arvioimaan Aggredia työmuotona.

Haastattelut toteutetaan Aggredin tiloissa huhtikuun ja lokakuun 2018 välisenä aikana, erikseen sovittavina aikoina. Haastattelutilanteessa ovat läsnä molemmat graduntekijät. Haastattelu kestää korkeintaan 2 tuntia.

Haastatteluun osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista. Haastateltavalla on oikeus milloin vain keskeyttää osallistuminen tutkimukseen tai kieltäytyä vastaamasta hänelle esitettyyn kysymykseen. Suostumuksen voi myös perua jälkikäteen ilmoittamalla siitä tutkimusryhmälle.

Haastattelut ovat luottamuksellisia. Haastattelijat eivät kerro ulkopuolisille, mitä haastatteluissa on puhuttu. Haastattelujen sisällöstä ei kerrota myöskään Aggredin työntekijöille. Tutkimusaineistoa käsittelevät henkilöt allekirjoittavat vaitiolositoumuksen. Henkilötietoja sisältävää aineistoa ei luovuteta tutkimuksen ulkopuolisille tutkimuksen missään vaiheessa.

Haastattelussa esille tulleet asiat raportoidaan tutkimusjulkaisuihin tavalla, jossa tutkittavia tai muita haastattelussa mainittuja yksittäisiä henkilöitä ei voida tunnistaa. Tutkimusjulkaisuihin voidaan sisällyttää suoria otteita haastatteluista. Niiden yhteydessä voidaan mainita haastateltavan sukupuoli ja ikä tai ammatti.

Aineiston säilytyksessä huomioidaan tietoturva ja yksityisyyden suoja. Haastattelu nauhoitetaan ääninauhalle, jonka jälkeen haastattelu kirjoitetaan tekstitiedostoksi. Tämän jälkeen ääninauha hävitetään. Haastateltavan ja haastattelussa esille tulevien muiden henkilöiden nimet poistetaan tai muutetaan peitenimiksi. Tarvittaessa muutetaan tai poistetaan myös paikkatietoja ja muita erisnimiä (työpaikkojen tms. nimet), jotta aineistoon sisältyvien henkilöiden tunnistaminen ei ole enää mahdollista. Äänitallennetta ja tekstitiedostoa säilytetään Helsingin yliopiston laitteilla käyttäjätunnuksella ja salasanalla suojattuna.

Aineistoa voidaan hyödyntää myös muissa tutkimuksissa. Tutkimuksen päätyttyä tekstimuotoinen aineisto arkistoidaan Helsingin yliopiston arkistoon. Aineistoa voidaan myöhemmin käyttää myös muissa yhteiskuntatieteellisissä tutkimuksissa.

Tutkimusryhmä ja yhteystiedot

Janne Kivivuori

Chris Carling

Aino Jauhiainen

Kriminologian professori

opiskelija

opiskelija

Helsingin yliopisto

Helsingin yliopisto

Helsingin yliopisto

janne.kivivuori@helsinki.fi

Appendix 5: Consent form

Suostumus

Pyydämme suostumustasi osallistua tutkimukseen haastateltavana. Jos suostut haastatteluun, pyydämme sinua allekirjoittamaan oheisen suostumuksen.

Olen ymmärtänyt haastattelujen tarkoituksen, tietojen käyttötavan ja suostun antamaan haastattelun tutkimukseen "Aggredin prosessiarviointi".

Aika ja paikka _____

Allekirjoitus _____

Selvennys _____

Appendix 6: Safety protocol**Turvallisuusohje**

Tämä ohje koskee laadullisia haastatteluita, jotka tehdään rikksentorjunnan arvioinnin tai tutkimuksen yhteydessä.³

Yleiset konkreettiset ohjeet

- Haastattelussa tulee olla haastateltavan/haastateltavien lisäksi aina kaksi tutkimusta tekevää tai tutkimustahoa edustavaa henkilöä läsnä
 - Jos toinen haastattelija ei pääse paikalle, ei haastattelua tehdä
 - Jos haastateltavaa saapuu paikalle päihtyneenä tai huumeiden vaikutuksen alaisena, ei haastattelua tehdä
 - Haastateltavan saapuessa paikalle häntä on vastaanottamassa myös rikksentorjunnallisen tahon edustaja, vaikka tämä ei osallistu haastatteluun. Ko. edustaja arvioi vastaanottotilanteessa haastattelun toteuttamismahdollisuuden
 - Haastattelu suoritetaan turvallisessa tilassa. Esimerkiksi haastateltavien kodissa tai omassa kodissa ei tehdä haastatteluja
 - Haastattelut toteutetaan rikksentorjunnallisen toimijan tiloissa. Tämä turvaohje saatetaan toimijan tietoon ja sen sisällöstä ja soveltamisesta keskustellaan toimijan kanssa ennen haastatteluja
- On varmistettava, että toimijan edustaja on paikalla haastattelujen aikana toimiston tiloissa, vaikka hän ei ole haastatteluhuoneessa
- Haastattelijat eivät saa antaa omia yhteystietojaan (kuten puhelinnumeroa tai kotiosoitetta tai asuinluetta) haastateltaville. Haastattelijat eivät myöskään kysy haastateltavan yhteystietoja. Kontaktit toimivat aina arvioitavan tahon kautta
 - Jos haastattelija kokee tilanteen uhkaavaksi. voi haastattelun aina keskeyttää
 - Haastattelijan tulee aina istua oven puolella
 - Harjoittele oven aukaisemista etukäteen (esim. mihin suuntaan ovi aukeaa), jotta pääset mahdollisimman nopeasti ulos ongelmatilanteesta
 - Valitse haastateltavan istumapaikka etukäteen ja ohjaa hänet siihen
 - Haastateltavalta pyydetään informoitu suostumus ja korostetaan vapaaehtoisuutta. On syytä tuoda esiin, että opinnäytteen toteuttaminen haastatteluaineistoa keräämällä on myös opiskelijalle vapaaehtoista.

³ Ohje perustuu opintoasiain lakimiehen (Veera Löthman) ja yliopiston turvallisuuspäällikön (Mikko Savela) antamaan konsultaatioon. Mikäli haastattelu tehdään viranomaiskontekstissa, seurataan kontekstin antamia ohjeita.

Ideaalitila:

- Kaksi poistumiskäyntiä ja esimerkiksi lasiovi tai lasiseinä (ei-suljettu tila)
- Pöydän tulee olla tyhjä, jotta käden ulottuvilla ei ole mitään. Sijoita myös tarjoilut sivupöydälle ja siivoa muina miehinä kupit ja lautaset pois myöhemmin
- Pöydän tulee olla syvä, jotta haastattelijan ja haastateltavan välillä on tilaa
- Haastateltavan takana ei tule olla kovinkaan paljon tilaa, jotta ylös nouseminen ongelmatilanteessa hidastuisi: älä kuitenkaan ahdistaa haastateltavaa nurkkaan
- Hälytyslaitteen tarve arvioidaan.

Vuorovaikutuksesta ja kommunikaatiosta yleisiä näkökohtia

- Haastateltavaa ei tule kohdata rikollisena, vaan tavallisena ihmisenä
- Oma hallinnan tunne haastattelutilanteessa on olennainen haastattelun onnistumiselle
- Kehonkieli on keskeinen osa kommunikaatiota: jos olet esimerkiksi pelokas ennen haastattelua, näkyy se kehonkielessäsi joka puolestaan vaikuttaa paikalla oleviin muihin ihmisiin ja omaan suorituskyykyysi. Valmistaudu haastatteluun ja haastateltavan kohtaamiseen huolellisesti
- Ahdistuksen, pelon ja muiden samankaltaisten tuntemusten tunnistaminen itsessään on keskeistä. Jos tunnistat jonkin tällaisen tuntemuksen itsessäsi haastattelun aikana, voit esimerkiksi ehdottaa kahvitaukoa tai vaihtaa puheenaihetta
- Jos haastattelijan tunnetila vaikuttaa jonkin haastattelun laatuun siinä määrin, että tutkimuksen laatu/näyttötaso on vaarassa heikentyä, ei kyseistä haastattelua tule käyttää tutkimuksessa
- Kysyminen ja kyseenalaistaminen on kaksi eri asiaa, harjoita hienotunteisuutta esittäessäsi kysymyksiä
- Muista, että negatiivisesta tunteesta väkivaltaiseen tekoon tai käyttäytymiseen on hyvin korkea kynnys
- Kahvin ja pullan tarjoaminen on hyvä tapa saada haastattelutilanne käyntiin

Appendix 7: Rating of life and violence issues for life course forms

Elämäntilanteen arviointi

Ikäsi nyt _____

Ikäsi kun aloitit Aggredissa _____

Arvioi yleistä elämäntilannettasi (ongelmien määrää elämässäsi) ympyröimällä valitsemasi vaihtoehto.

Pisteytyksiin sisältyy numerot 0-10, missä 0 = ei yhtään ongelmia elämässä ja 10 = erittäin paljon ongelmia elämässä.

Lapsuus (0-12) ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Nuoruus (13-18) ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Aikuisuus (18-) ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Tilanne juuri ennen Aggredin aloittamista ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Aggredi alkaa

Nyt ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Tulevaisuus ei yhtään ongelmia 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon ongelmia

Oman väkivaltaisuuden arviointi

Ikäsi nyt _____

Ikäsi kun aloitit Aggredissa _____

Arvioi omaa väkivaltaisuuttasi ympyröimällä valitsemasi vaihtoehto.

Pisteytyksiin sisältyy numerot 0-10, missä 0 = ei yhtään väkivaltaista käyttäytymistä ja 10 = erittäin paljon väkivaltaista käyttäytymistä.

Lapsuus (0-12) ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Nuoruus (13-18) ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Aikuisuus (18-) ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Tilanne juuri ennen Aggredin aloittamista ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Aggredi alkaa

Nyt ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Tulevaisuus ei yhtään väkivaltaisuutta 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 erittäin paljon väkivaltaisuutta

Appendix 8: Aggredis introduction phase evaluation form

Alkutilanne

Nimi:	Pvm:
--------------	-------------

Mitä haittaa väkivallasta on sinulle aiheutunut?

Minkälaiseksi koet elämänlaatusi tällä hetkellä?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Kuinka mahdollisena näet, että pystyt vaikuttamaan väkivaltaiseen käyttäytymiseesi?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Mitä hyötyä haluaisit Aggredi-työskentelystä sinulle olevan?

Appendix 9: Aggredis follow-up evaluation form

Väliarvio / no:	Nimi:	Pvm:
------------------------	--------------	-------------

Minkälaiseksi koet elämänlaatusi tällä hetkellä?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Kuinka mahdollisena näet, että pystyt vaikuttamaan väkivaltaiseen käyttäytymiseesi?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Mitä hyötyä Aggredista on sinulle ollut?

Mitä tavassamme työskennellä on ollut sinulle sopivaa?

Kehitysajatuksia/ risuja / ruusuja?

Appendix 10: Translations of interviewee citations (Finnish to English)

Order of appearance: Original sentence, followed by translation.

Orig:

P2:

Oon mä miettiny jo niit ihan niiku mä oon tajunnu ja ymmärtäny sen nuorempana joskus 14-15 vuotiaana tajunnu ja yrittäny monta kertaa lopettaa mut sit sitte ku on tullu liian avoimet olot niinku lastenkodissa tai ni sit on lähteny helposti mukaan jos joku ehdottaa jotaki ja sit se on alkanu taas siitä. Mut sillai sit on niiku silloin on ymmärtäny mitä voi seurata et se ei et siitä ei pitäis tehdä niin mutta ei välittäny niin paljo.

C:

Milloin sä aloit välittää?

P2:

Ihan nytte ku mä jouduin tälle tuomiolle enkä edes heti alkutuomiosta et niiku joku vuoden kun oli kerennyt oleen vankilassa sen jälkeen ymmärs niiku oikeesti.

Translation:

P2: I've thought about it and realized it when I was younger, around 14-15 years old, I understood and I've tried to quit many times, but when the conditions in the children's home got less attentive, I joined in if somebody suggested something, then that would stir something up. So I've understood the consequences of the things I shouldn't do, but I didn't care too much.

C: When did you start caring?

P2: Just now, when I started serving this sentence. And not even right then, but about a year in when I'd been in prison for a while- after that I really understood.

Orig:

A: Mikä sai sut muuttamaan (kaupungista) sitte?

P6: Mun vaimo tuli raskaaks.

A: okei.

P6: Ja sitte tietysti toi jatkuva vankilassa oleminen ja huumeiden käyttäminen jotenki, et tuli mitta täyteen niistä, mutta (...)

A: niin.

P6: Ei se, se ei ollut mitään elämää niiku. Se vaan jotenki tuli mitta täyteen- Kyllähän mä vuosia yritin irti noista kaikista mutta mä vaan- ei ollut tarpeeksi selkärankaa katkaista sitä kierrettä

C: Oliko tää lapsi sit semmonen [(-) työntävä tekijä] siihen muutokseen

P6: [joo, kyllä]

Translation:

A: What made you move from (town) then?

P6: My wife got pregnant.

A: Okay.

P6: And then of course constantly ending up in jail, the drug use, I got sick of it... It wasn't any kind of living, you know. So I just got fed up with it somehow- I mean I did try to break away from it for years, but- I didn't have enough of a backbone to break the cycle.

C: Was this child a pushing factor towards that change then?

P6: Yeah.

Orig:

p2: Tää on hyvä esimerkki et ihan tää asiakasohjautuvuuden kehittämiseen se oli niiku on ollut ja on edelleen se iso haaste et miten me saadaan asiakkaita tänne ja miten me saadaan asiakkaita integroitua takas yhteiskuntaan eihän kaikki oo se ei oo niinkun että asiakas ois jotenki vastentahtoinen vaan kyllähän viranomaset on myös vastentahtoisii tässä [...](3:67)

Translation:

p2: This has been a good example, the development of client direction has been and is still a big issue; how we get clients here and how we get them integrated back to society, I mean it's not always the client that's reluctant, but authorities are also reluctant regarding this.

Orig:

C: Onks sulla mitään suunnitelmaa nytte et miten usein sä tuut käymään täällä?

p2: Kahen viikon välein. Mä tulisin muuten viikon välein mut se ei käy vankilalle.

A: Aijaa.

A: Koetsä että se on niiku et se olis sulle hyödyllisempää jos sä saisit käydä useammin?

p2: Joo, olis.

Translation:

C: do you have a plan for how often you will visit here?

p2: Every other week. I would attend every week, but the prison won't allow that.

A: Okay. Do you feel it would be more beneficial for you if you'd attend more often?

p2: Yeah, it would.

Orig:

p3: [Mä tiedän ite et mä oon oikeesti] mä en oo mikään väkivaltainen ihminen et se on vaan alkoholissa se johtuu nämä asiat et se alkoholi on loppunut mun elämässä niin mä uskon sen. Tää vankila oli opetus mulle että. Oppii paljon ja silmät avautuu paremmin ulkona ollessa. Et nyt ymmärrä- ymmärtää asiat paremmin.

Translation:

p3: Im not a violent person, its just the alcohol that's caused this, and the alcohol is out of my life, I believe it. This prison sentence taught me. I learned a lot, it opened my eyes. You see things more clearly now.

Orig:

w4: [...] ne ensimmäiset kerrat on sitä luottamuksen rakentamista et me päästään semmoseen avoimeen dialogiin ja se just tulee tää sosiaalinen konstruktioismi missä sen asiakkaan totuutta arvostetaan ja se on näilleki kavereilla semmonen että "noihan kuuntelee" ja siitä syntyy se luottamus.

Translation:

w4: The first sessions are about building trust and getting to an open dialog. And that's where the social constructionism comes in where the clients truth is respected and for these guys its like a moment of "hey, they actually listen", and from that the trust is formed.

Orig:

A: [...] Miten te pidätte asiakkaan motivoituneena tai miten te motivoitte asiakasta?

w3: Ei me ei me ollaan varmaan hylätty toi ajatus ei me motivoida ei kukaan voi motivoida toista millään tavalla. Kyl mä luulen et se meidän kohtaaminen täällä asiakkaan kanssa ja tämä yhteis- tämä toimitila ja se hetki mitä me luodaan niin se on itsessään sitten kiinnostava näin me luotetaan että se kokee että tänne on helppo tulla täällä on helppo jutella pääsee vähän vankilasta pois (3:58).

Translation:

A: How do you keep the client motivated?

w3: We don't- I think we've abandoned that idea. We don't motivate- nobody can motivate another, I think that the encounter here between us and the client and this working space, the moment we create is attaching in itself. We trust that the client feels its easy to come here. Discussing things feels easy and you get out of prison for a bit.

Orig:

C: Miten sä koet yhteistyön Aggredin työntekijöiden kanssa verrattuna mitä kokemusta sul on ollu muista viranomaisista tai ei muista vaan viranomaisista ja just näist valtion työntekijöist mistä sä puhuit aikasemmin mikä ero on näissä kahdessa ryhmässä?

p4: No se et jos mä avaan täällä jonkun asian niin mua ei tuomita sen perusteella tai rangaista tai mitään muutakaan. Et voi kertoa ihan avoimesti ja ei tarvii miettii sitä mitenkään.

Translation:

C: How do you experience the cooperation with the Aggredi staff compared to experience with other authorities, or these state authorities we talked about earlier, what's the difference between these groups>?

p4: If I open up about something here, they don't judge you for it or punish you or anything like that. You can talk about things openly and don't have to think about it in any way.

Orig:

A: Mitä sitte mitäs sai sut tekeen sen päätökset et okei mä kokeilen.

P1: No ku se ensimmäisenä sanoi tietenkin että se tukee mun rangaistusajan suunnitelmaa et se näyttää hyvältä papreilta ku tulen käymään täällä niin se nyt oli ensimmäisenä mielessä. Ja sit pääsee tuolta (vankilasta) pois. Se on ihan helvetin hyvä.

Translation:

A: What made you decide on trying this program?

P1: Well, firstly it supports my sentence plan, looks good on paper when I visit here was what first comes to mind. And then you get off the prison facility. That's fucking great.

Orig:

A: Luuletsä että tää Aggredin toimintatapa sit sopii tietynlaisille ihmisille paremmin kuin muille? Et onks joku tietty ihmistyyppi joka saa enemmän tästä ohjelmasta irti?

p5: MMh varmasti jos ei oo kovin kuntoutusmyönteinen eikä halua mitään muutosta niin eihän- tuskin siit sit on tai eihän mistään oo mitään jos ei ite halunnu apua.

Translation:

A: Do you think Aggredis methods suit certain types of people more than others? Would certain types of people get more out of this program?

p5: if you aren't very affirmative towards treatment and don't want any change, there's probably no point. I mean, nothing's going to work if you yourself don't want help.

Orig:

C: Joo. (...) Aika moni asiakas keskeyttää Aggredin varsinkin just tässä niinku alkuvaiheessa missä säki oot nyt niin mitä sä luulet että siihen vois olla syitä?

p6: Ei oo valmis siihen muutokseen. Se se varmaan on, että kokee että ei ole mun- mussa mitään vikaa tai en mä- ei tarvitse tätä koska jos mä mietin itse- mä oon keskeyttäny niitä päihdehoitoja ite aikaisemmin vaikka paljon niin jotenki silloin sitä ei ollu vielä valmis vaan siihen. vaikka sitä haluaa sitä muutosta niin sitten ei kuitenkaan oo valmis siihen. Ei oo voimia. Nää on kuitenkin vain semmoisia asioita että niiku sitä joutuu nöyrytyyn ite aika paljon.

Translation:

C: Quite many customers quit the program especially during this introduction phase, what reasons do you think there could be to it?

p6: You aren't ready for that change. You feel that there's nothing wrong with me and I don't need this. Because if I think about this- I've quit rehab so many times before and somehow I just wasn't ready for it. No matter how much you want change- you just aren't ready. You've got no strength for it. These are the kinds of things where you are forced to humble yourself quite a lot.

orig:

w1: Siis sosiaalinen konstruktionismi, se on meillä, me ei siis syvällisesti olla käsitelty sitä teorian näkök- teoriana, vaan se on niinku näkökulmana et me kunnioitetaan sitä ihmisen omaa todellisuutta ja miten hän siitä puhuu.

translation:

w1: The social constructionism is in what we do, but we haven't addressed it deeply as a theoretical perspective. Rather, we use it as a viewpoint in that we respect the persons own truth and the ways in which they tell it.

orig:

w3: Kyllä se konkreettisesti niinkun näkyy sillee että asiakas rupee puhumaan ku on ollu nää vitun siat poliiseista tai vitun sossut tai vitun pamput ja se puhe alkaa muuttua. Jossain vaiheessa vielä saattaa käydä niin hienosti et se asiakas tajuaa että poliisikin tekee vain työtään. Tiedätsä? Et ne on niitä merkkejä millon se identiteetti alkaa kiinnittyä muualle kun siihen omaan konnahistoriaan tai rikollismaailmaan.

translation:

w3: You can see it on a concrete level when the client starts talking. When previously its been these "damn pigs" regarding cops or "damn SW's (for social workers) or "damn turnkeys" (for prison officers) And that kind of talk starts to change. At some point you might even have the client realizing that the police just does their job, you know? And these are the signs of when identity starts attaching to other places than their own criminal history or world of crime.

orig:

p2: [...] tämmönen työntekijän oman persoonan käyttö on se on myös sitä vertaistyyöskentelyä eli sillä tavalla se on myös sitä yhteiskuntaan integroitumista että kun minä puhun kokemuksiani isänä olemisesta tai minä puhun kokemuksiani kun olen joskus töihin hakenut ja tällaset erilaisista ongelmista [...]ja ku meit on kolme ihmistä tapaamisessa niin sehän tietyllä tavalla luo sitä vertaisryhmää siis tällais ihan maalaisjärkisistä tavallisista asioista.

translation:

p2 [...]: This use of the workers own personality is also peer mentoring and reintegrative in that i talk about experiences of fatherhood, or applying for work and various problems [...] and when there's three of us at the sessions, it creates peer support using common sense [...].

orig:

p6: Niin on totta kai yhteys koska aika paljo tota meidän työ myös on tavallaan sitä et sinne siviiliin rakennetaan sitä elämää et kyllä täällä yhdessä haetaan asuntoja ja opiskelupaikkoja tavallaan et ei siitä väkivallasta jauheta välttämättä.

translation:

p6: There is a connection since our work is a lot about building a life to society, i mean we apply for houses and places to study so we aren't always jabbering about violence.

orig:

w1: yks meidän työskentely on just tätä että me sparrataan me valmennetaan että miten puhua me ei käytetä tota sanaa että laske kymmeneen että ollaan vähemmän aggressiivisesti vaan se että miten se asiakas saa hyvällä tavalla tavoitteensa läpi keskustelussa niin me käydään niitä asioita läpi ja meidän tarkoituksena on just se että se asiakas selviäis siellä kelan tapamisessa tai työkkärin tapaamisessa [...]

translation:

w1: One of our working methods is this- we do sparring, coaching on how to talk. We don't use the wording of count to ten to be less aggressive. It's getting the client's goals fulfilled in a good way during discussions [...] our aim is getting the client to manage through meetings with Kela (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland) or the employment services [...]

Chris: Osaatteko te sitten sanoa, että miten te käsittelette asiakkaan identiteettiä?

w2: [...] tällä hetkellä mä luulen et meillä on eniten se työtapa että me yritetään kiinnittää muihin asioihin elikkä että hän saa sen työharjoittelupaikan tai opiskelupaikan ja siitä sitten sitä kautta sen positiivisen palautteen kautta sitä muutosta [...].

translation:

Chris: Can you elaborate on how you assess the client's identity?

w2[...] Right now I think we try to attach the client to other things, like them getting that internship or degree place, and change through the positive feedback received from those places.

orig:

p2: jos mä sanon jotain nii mä saan täältä näin näitten omakohtasii kokemuksi tilanteesta ku se et mä sanon vankilan päihdetyöntekijälle jonkun asian niin ei siihen tuu mitään oikeestaan periaattees se oletamus vaan et miten tulis tapahtuu, ei oo semmost vuorovaikutusta et jos mä kerron jotain sulle sä et voi kertoa mulle koska sä oot vankilan työntekijä.

translation:

H: If i say something, from these guys here i get their own personal experiences of situations versus when I say something to the prisons drug counsellor nothing really comes out of it, just the expectation of what should happen. There's no interaction in a way that if I tell you something, you can't tell me because you are a prison worker.

orig:

p3: Heidän kauttaan me haettiin se koulu ja lähetettiin sähköpostia ja sain sitten sähköpostin ja he vastasivat, muutama koulu ja sitten mä halusin mennä tonne töihin ennen he vähän ohjasivat mua sillee et on parempi hakee koulu ja sitä kautta palkkakin on parempi et jos on todistuksen.

translation:

p3: through them, we applied to the school and sent emails and i got an email response for a few schools. Then I wanted to go there for work before they directed be a little bit like it's better to apply for school and then to work from there you get better wage, if you have a certificate.

orig:

C: Oisko sul jotain esimerkkii että ootsä soveltanu näitä oppeja?

p5: Oon soveltanu kyllä mulla oli just tuol vilppulassa ni oli semmonen tai mä olin työharjoittelussa ni sit siel oli semmonen poika mikä koko ajan aukko päit mulle niiku siel

työharjoittelupaikassa (kaupungissa) ja sitte tota niin mä sanoin sille sitte et sovitaaks et sä et puhu mulle mitään enää ku se puhu siihen sävyyn et se pomotti siin koko ajan jotain mä sanoin sille et sovitaan et sä et puhu enää mitään mulle ni sit siin vaihettiin sanoj puoleen ja toisiin ja sit mul meinas mennä käpy mä meinasin lyödä sitä mut sit mä päätinki parhaaks lähtee menee vaa sielt. Lähin sit kesken työpäivän menee sielt renkaat sutien ja joo semmonen tilanne n isit sitä käytiin läpi (Aggredin kanssa) et miks ne hermot sit menee meni siin tilanteessa ja miten kannattais jatkos toimia.

translation:

C: Do you have an example for how you've applied the things you've learnt here?

p5: I have applied them yeah, I just had an internship at (city) and there was a boy at the internship place constantly opposing me there. Then I told him that "let's make a deal; you don't talk nothing to me no more", since he was bossing me around all the time. Then we argued back and forth. And I almost lost it and nearly hit him but instead, I decided to just get out of there. So I left in the middle of the workday, full speed. Then we went through what had happened (in Aggredi), why you lose your temper in those situations and how one could act in the future.